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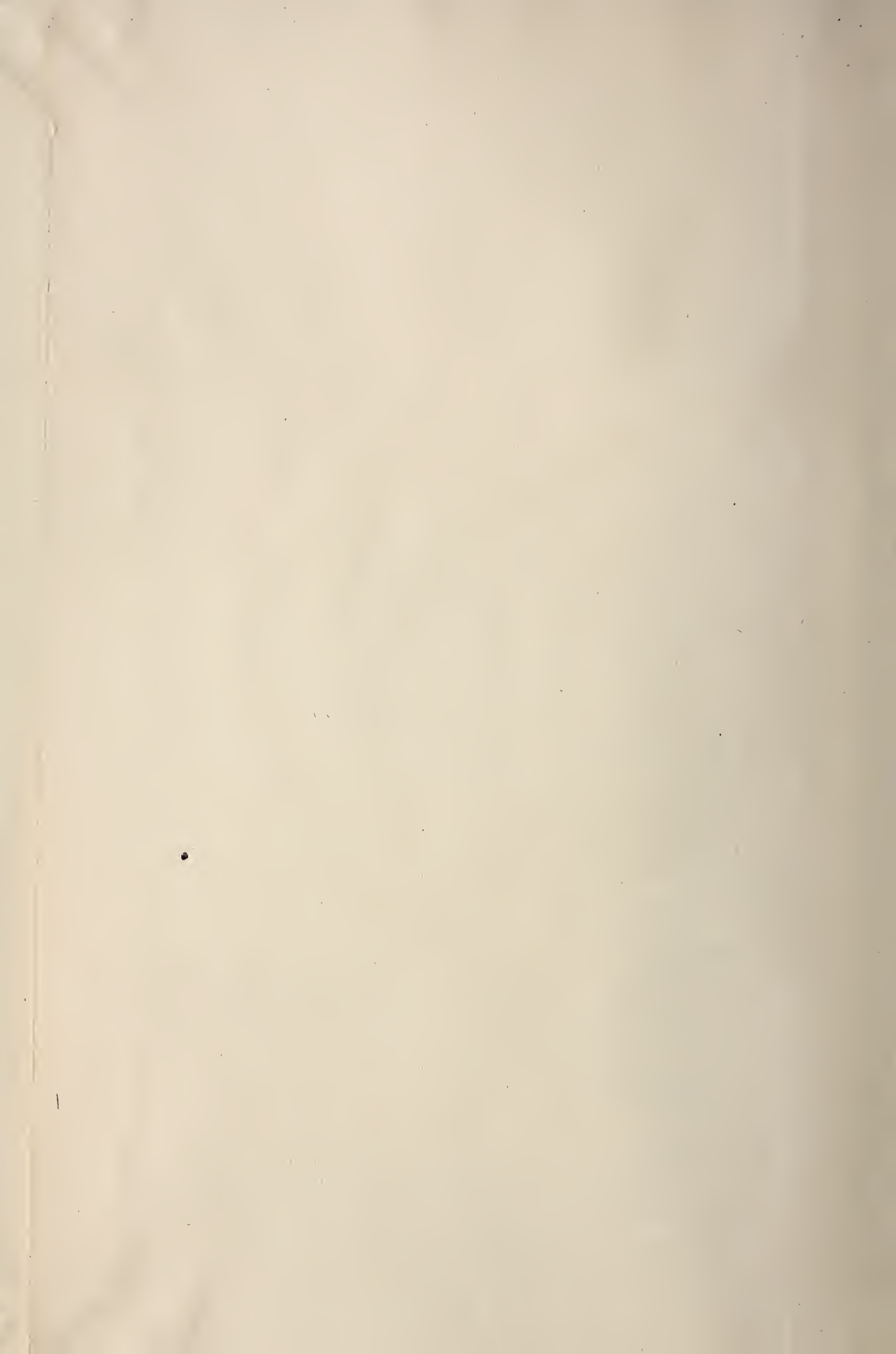
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THE UNION LEAGUE
OF PHILADELPHIA



ANNUAL REPORT

1924



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THE UNION LEAGUE

OF PHILADELPHIA

OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS ELECTED
DECEMBER 8, 1924

STANDING COMMITTEES

THE ADVISORY REAL ESTATE BOARD

MINUTES OF THE SPECIAL MEETING
JUNE 18, 1924

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING
DECEMBER 8, 1924

SIXTY-SECOND ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BOARD OF
DIRECTORS

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

REPORT OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE

REPORT OF THE GUEST COMMITTEE

REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE

REPORT OF THE LIBRARY COMMITTEE

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1924

BROAD STREET
BETWEEN CHESTNUT AND WALNUT STREETS

Founded November 22, 1862

Organized December 27, 1862

Incorporated March 30, 1864

House, 1118 Chestnut Street, opened January 22, 1863

House, 1216 Chestnut Street, opened August 18, 1864

Broad Street Building opened May 11, 1865

Fifteenth Street Building opened November 14, 1910

Middle Section opened December 2, 1911

OFFICERS

ELECTED DECEMBER 8, 1924

PRESIDENT

E. PUSEY PASSMORE

VICE-PRESIDENTS

WILLIAM R. LYMAN	BAYARD HENRY
J. WARNER HUTCHINS	MELVILLE G. BAKER

DIRECTORS

JAMES E. MITCHELL	W. KIRKLAND DWIER
HAROLD B. BEITLER	D. L. ANDERSON
WM. HENRY SMEDLEY	E. LAWRENCE FELL
EDGAR G. CROSS	CHARLES P. VAUGHAN
CHARLES R. MILLER	WALTER P. SHARP
CHARLES E. ROBERTS	HORACE C. JONES
J. HARRY MULL	WILLIAM J. MONTGOMERY
GEORGE STUART PATTERSON	

ELECTED BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
DECEMBER 9, 1924

SECRETARY

HAROLD B. BEITLER

TREASURER

JAMES E. MITCHELL

STANDING COMMITTEES

APPOINTED DECEMBER 9, 1924

PRESIDENT E. PUSEY PASSMORE

Ex-Officio Member of all Committees

HOUSE COMMITTEE

VICE-PRESIDENT WILLIAM R. LYMAN, *Chairman*

JAMES E. MITCHELL CHARLES E. ROBERTS

WM. HENRY SMEDLEY E. LAWRENCE FELL

GUEST COMMITTEE

VICE-PRESIDENT BAYARD HENRY, *Chairman*

HAROLD B. BEITLER CHARLES R. MILLER

EDGAR G. CROSS GEORGE STUART PATTERSON

FINANCE COMMITTEE

VICE-PRESIDENT MELVILLE G. BAKER, *Chairman*

W. KIRKLAND DWIER WALTER P. SHARP

HORACE C. JONES CHARLES P. VAUGHAN

LIBRARY COMMITTEE

VICE-PRESIDENT J. WARNER HUTCHINS, *Chairman*

EDGAR G. CROSS D. L. ANDERSON

J. HARRY MULL WILLIAM J. MONTGOMERY

ELECTED BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

AUDITORS

W. HARRY MILLER WILLIAM A. POWELL

JAMES V. ELLISON

COMMITTEE ON MEMBERSHIP

FRANK VAN RODEN WALTER CLOTHIER

WILLIAM L. SUPPLEE WILLIAM C. L. EGLIN

WILLIAM H. KINGSLEY HOWARD S. WILLIAMS

WILLIAM E. AREY JAY GATES

JOHN C. JONES WILLIAM M. DAVISON, JR.

DAVID HALSTEAD MILLARD D. BROWN

JOHN GILBERT

ELECTED BY THE COMMITTEE ON MEMBERSHIP

FRANK VAN RODEN WILLIAM E. AREY

Chairman

Secretary

THE ADVISORY REAL ESTATE BOARD

¹ SAMUEL S. SHARP

⁵ WILLIAM C. SPROUL

² EDWARD T. STOTESBURY

⁶ JOHN GRIBBEL

³ DIMNER BEEBER

⁷ EDWIN S. STUART

⁴ GEORGE B. EVANS

⁸ CARROLL R. WILLIAMS

CHAIRMAN

EDWARD T. STOTESBURY

¹ Elected by the Corporation, March 22, 1897.

² Elected by Board of Directors { February 9, 1897.
April 14, 1908.

³ Elected by Board of Directors, December 15, 1908.

⁴ Elected by Board of Directors, December 12, 1916.

⁵ Elected by the Corporation, December 8, 1919.

⁶ Elected by the Corporation, December 13, 1920.

⁷ Elected by the Corporation, December 8, 1924.

⁸ Elected by Board of Directors, December 9, 1924.

SPECIAL MEETING
OF
THE UNION LEAGUE OF PHILADELPHIA

Philadelphia, June 18, 1924.

A special meeting of The Union League of Philadelphia was held on Wednesday, June 18, 1924, at 12.30 o'clock.

President E. Pusey Passmore presided and William R. Lyman acted as Secretary.

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, the hour having arrived and a quorum being present, the meeting will please come to order. I will ask you please to rise and sing "America."

In the absence of Secretary Hamer, on account of illness, I will ask Vice-President Lyman to act as Secretary for the day. Mr. Secretary, will you be good enough to read the call for the meeting.

THE SECRETARY.—

June 13, 1924.

To the Members:

A special meeting of The Union League of Philadelphia will be held on Wednesday, June 18, 1924, at 12.30 o'clock, in Lincoln Hall, for the purpose of ratifying the nominations for President and Vice-President of the United States and the platform adopted by the Republican National Convention, held in Cleveland, June 10 to 12.

JOHN W. HAMER,
Secretary.

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, another four years has passed and The Union League of Philadelphia, following

its traditional custom observed since its founding, meets to consider the ratification and endorsement of the work of the Republican National Convention in the selection of candidates and the adoption of a platform in preparation for the coming Presidential election in November. After a rather hectic period, with more or less floundering about on account of lack of capable leadership in either branch of Congress, it seems to me the Republican Party found itself at Cleveland. Both in the platform adopted and the candidates nominated, the Convention could not have done better, could not have pleased real Republicans better, could not have better satisfied the thoughtful, independent group of voters without strong party allegiance upon whom so frequently the result of a Presidential election depends. He must be a poor Republican indeed who cannot now work enthusiastically and whole-heartedly for the election of Coolidge and Dawes, ideal candidates, leaders able, fearless and direct.

The duty of the hour, as your President sees it, is to make their election sure. To that duty I am confident each member of The Union League will bend every effort, to the end that the Republican Party, again the party of progressive, constructive leadership, in every way worthy of our complete confidence and our fullest support, may be successful in November. [Applause.] Its success is in the interest of all the people of this great nation, many of whom are being misled by so-called leaders to whom the well-being of the whole country has taken at least second place. The Republican Party is the party of advanced, constructive statesmanship, with leaders who are prepared to go forward with the prompt solution of those "newer questions which social, economic and political development have brought to the forefront of the nation's interests." If "Love of country leads," we shall not fail.

The Chair will recognize the dean of our former Presidents, Mr. C. Stuart Patterson, a veteran of many Republican campaigns. [Applause.]

MR. C. STUART PATTERSON.—Mr. President, I offer a resolution, which I will ask the Secretary to read.

THE PRESIDENT.—The Secretary will read the resolution which Mr. Patterson offers.

THE SECRETARY.—

Resolved, That The Union League of Philadelphia hereby ratifies the nomination of Hon. Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts for President of the United States, and Brigadier General Charles G. Dawes, of Illinois, for Vice-President of the United States, and pledges to the candidates of the Republican party and to their platform the loyal support of The Union League.

Resolved, That the President of The Union League be and is hereby requested to appoint one hundred members of The Union League to serve as a campaign committee, whose duties shall be to assist in securing the success of the Republican party in the Presidential campaign of 1924, and of which committee the President of The Union League shall be the chairman. [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, you have heard the resolutions offered by Mr. Patterson. Are they seconded? They are seconded, and the question is open. Mr. Patterson.

MR. C. STUART PATTERSON.—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of The Union League: The Cleveland Convention did not nominate a candidate for the Presidency; it ratified the nomination that had been made by the rank and file of the Republican party with an unanimity scarcely ever known. [Applause.] It nominated a Vice-President who is everything that a Vice-President of the United States should be. [Applause.] It adopted a platform, a somewhat unnecessary work—very few people will read it once; nobody will read it a second time. The real platform is in the candidates. [Applause.]

Look at their records: Coolidge and Dawes mean the faithful performance of duty; industry, which leaves no daily task undone; courage to face the mob, the maintenance of order, the just and equal enforcement of the laws, stern opposition to governmental extravagance, keeping of governmental expenditures within the limits of income, a firm determination to lighten the heavy burdens of taxation, no sacrifice of nationality to internationality, but that readiness which this country has always shown to render every aid in its power to the suffering of every land; and willingness to submit to the World Court the decision of all international questions of a juridical nature. [Applause.]

There is no possibility that our opponents can present to the people any candidates who are comparable to those which the Republican party has named. There is no possibility that our opponents can pledge themselves to any platform which can equal that made by the record of Coolidge and Dawes. We believe, yes, we know that we ought to win; we believe that we will win, but do not let us neglect any effort.

There must be a campaign of education. The Union League has heretofore carried on such campaigns. In Mr. Lincoln's time, immediately upon our organization, we did more than any other body to educate the people as to the true meaning of that great conflict. When Mr. Bryan assaulted the citadel of national honor, The Union League did more than any other organization to show the people of the United States what was then at stake. And we now must educate the people as to governmental administration and economy.

And when our work is done, and when the shower of ballots is ended, on the fateful evening of the first Tuesday of next November, let us hope that we will gather here, and as many of us as are able to walk will form column of fours led by the old banner which is never brought

forth from its case save to celebrate a national victory or to greet a President of the United States, and with blare of trumpets and with beat of drum we will march through the crowded streets, amid the fireworks and the cheering crowds; and when we come in front of that old State House which is the cradle of American liberty we will reverently take off our hats and we will say, "Thank God, the country is saved." [Loud Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, the Chair desires to recognize a former President of The Union League, a former Governor of the State of Pennsylvania, who has himself taken no small part in a number of Republican national conventions. The Chair will recognize former Governor Sproul. [Applause.]

HON. WILLIAM C. SPROUL.—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of The Union League: In rising to second the resolutions of ratification which have been offered for the eighth consecutive time in a national campaign by our revered dean of the corps of ex-presidents, I do so with the feeling that the ticket nominated at Cleveland and the principles upon which the work of that convention were carried on, represent more nearly the principles of this great old institution than anything of the kind in the way of a ticket or in the way of a platform that we have had for many, many years. [Applause.]

As Mr. Patterson has said, a party platform is not always read, but it is always picked to pieces and criticised by those who wish to find fault with it, or who desire to take present advantage of anything that has been done or which has been omitted to be done in that platform. My friends, the platform adopted at Cleveland is one which is direct; it is one which typifies the force of character, the courage and the directness of the men at the head of the ticket, it side-steps nothing, smooths over no questions, but goes directly to the heart

of all the great issues in the campaign of this year. It is a good platform, one upon which we may very well wage a courageous fight, and one which I am confident will win in the election in November.

President Passmore has truly said, the great issue in this campaign is Calvin Coolidge, and the things for which he stands. [Applause.] Now, my friends, it seems to me—and I say it reverently—that it is almost Providential that at a time like this we have a man in whom the people believe, a man of integrity, a man of character, a man of true Americanism in all that the word implies, a man who is a Republican, not because Republicanism stands as a token or a sign, or as a mere word, but who is a Republican from principle, who has the courage to tell other people who are masquerading under the name of Republicanism and who are doing their best to destroy the party, that they are not Republicans, and have no place within the party. [Loud applause.]

One of the great events at Cleveland was the speech of Dr. Burton nominating President Coolidge. It was a great speech; he said a great many things worth while, and he described this man in the White House in a way which those of us who have known him for some time realized was a true description, and represented the character, the stability, and solidity, and the true Republican substantiality of that man who is our leader today. Among other things that he said was that Calvin Coolidge did not talk so much that he did not have time to think; and by—— Well, I was going to say something else—by the high Heavens, it is time that somebody of that kind was in charge of things in this country. [Applause.] We have had too much froth in our politics and too little substance; we have too much political yeast and too little of the sound bread of political and governmental accomplishment. We have had too much rank demagoguery, and too little of sound principle in our affairs.

[Applause.] This man at the head of our ticket is the very antithesis of all that; he stands for things which are attainable, things which are the real need of this country, and he has the courage to stand up and demand them, and to take issue with all those who would tear down these Republican principles.

I am not a pessimist in any sense of the word; I have been too optimistic often times for my own good; but I believe, as I have said before, that it is truly Providential that we have now, and are going to have for the next four years, a man of firmness, soundness and real principle to take the helm and keep the great Ship of State where it should be. Such a man is needed most in the disturbed condition in which the whole world finds itself, and in which, in spite of our prosperity, and the blessings which we have, in spite of all the good things which have been given us in this Republic, we find our own affairs, due to a lot of agitators and disorganizers. We want no invasion of the troubles that are disturbing Europe; we want no conditions in this country like those found now in France; we want no conditions in this country even such as are to be found in England at the present day. If Socialism is the fashion in the world, we want none of it. We want an adherence to the things which we know are good, the things which we know work out, and the things which we believe will lead to the eternal prosperity of this country and its advance along rational lines; and we have a leader in Calvin Coolidge, who will direct us along right lines. It is fine indeed that he has a partner on the ticket who is as sound, and who represents so much that is worth while as Charles G. Dawes. No one who has ever been nominated for Vice-President in our time, with the exception of Calvin Coolidge himself, was better fitted for the office or was more capable of assuming the great responsibilities which that office may bring to the man who takes the oath of office as Vice-President of the United States. It is a great ticket. [Applause.]

As Mr. Patterson has said, this great institution here, the greatest of all the Republican organizations in this country, wants to take the lead; we want to take nothing for granted; the issues are too serious, the situation is too intense in the rest of the world, as well as in this country, to take any chances. So let us get to work early, and keep at it constantly to make sure that the victory in November is just the sort of victory that we must have, not only a victory, but a decisive victory, giving notice to the world that America still stands firm and solid, that America still trusts her own institutions, and that America will go forward along her own lines, and continue to give her people the best place in the world in which to live, to prosper, and to enjoy the fruits of their labors. I take great pleasure in seconding the resolution. [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, the Chair is very much pleased to note in the audience the presence of a distinguished member of this organization, who serves this particular district in Congress, and serves it with great distinction. During the troubled times of this last session, no one of us had to give any concern about his vote; it was cast in support of the President on every important occasion. As a mark of his distinguished and sterling strength, the Pennsylvania delegation voted solidly for him for Vice-President on the first ballot at Cleveland. [Applause.] I have great pleasure in recognizing Congressman Graham.

HON. GEORGE S. GRAHAM.—Mr. President, and my fellow Members of The Union League: It had been my purpose to attend this gathering, but it was reinforced by a gentle suggestion from your excellent President, and I am glad to be able to take part in the customary proceedings of our great Union League with regard to the Presidential nomination of our party. The Union League will never lag behind in the performance of patriotic

service and duty, and I am glad to see that a pause is made in the busy work of the day for so many to gather here and join in this ratification meeting at this early time.

I suppose that it might be right for me to say a word or two about the convention. I am not here to make a speech, for speeches, after the excellent ones that we have listened to, are not needed further. Some have criticised this convention as one without leadership, as one without program, but I assure you that it was one of the finest conventions, national or state, that it has ever been my privilege to attend.

There was a magnificent absence of program, except upon one point, and that was the nomination for President. How it came about, few of us can fully appreciate and recognize. It has always seemed to me, as I have thought about it, and watched the gathering power and force that was leading on to this culmination, that it was like the percolation of the water through the earth; it goes noiselessly, no hurrah, no shouting, yet it reaches and touches the root of all things, and the surface of the earth fructifies and shouts in gladness because of the refreshing water. So there went forth an influence that permeated the soil of American manhood in this country to such a degree that it needed no brass band, it needed no shoutings, or gatherings of the clans; it touched the hearts of the masses, and the spontaneous answer came in Cleveland, when, without opposition, save that miserable section in the Northwest headed by La Follette, the convention nominated unanimously for President of the United States Calvin Coolidge. [Applause.]

Leadership there was, but there was no attempt at repression. Just as the feeling for Coolidge found its vent, so another stream flowed out that could not have been dammed up by any rule or command, and that was

the flow of that convention toward that distinguished son of the Middle West, Lowden, when he was named with a rush as the candidate for Vice-President. He undoubtedly was the choice of the great majority of that convention. Equally again, although Mr. Butler cast his vote indicating a choice for Hoover, the vote went in a steady stream, until that distinguished man, General Dawes, was named as the running mate of Calvin Coolidge. There was no dictation from the White House, and that perhaps made some of the movements in the convention appear erratic, and without predetermination; but there was a disposition on the part of those who were the intimates and friends of the President to consult with him so that, as was his right, an unobjectionable running mate might be placed upon the ticket with him for the November election.

There could not have been, in my judgment, out of the many names that were considered there with great seriousness and earnestness, a finer choice or selection made than was ultimately made. [Applause.] And I believe that there is a Providence, and that just as it shaped the canvass in the convention in 1920, when the lone voice of Oregon came forth and called for Calvin Coolidge to be named as Vice-President, so in this convention an overruling Providence has led us to select wisely and well. When poor Harding, our beloved President, passed away, the people of this country felt there was no danger, for a second man was at the helm who could command the Ship of State and carry her through the breakers before her in safety. And so, to-day, should a dispensation of Providence remove the great, strong and firm Calvin Coolidge, you have a man second in command who will take the helm and guide again the Ship of State. [Applause.]

This is no time, my friends, to talk about the candidates especially; you know them; the press is full of the

story of who and what they are; their achievements are written to their credit, and stand out picturesquely before the entire nation. I would merely recall to you one little incident away up on an old farm in Vermont; by the dim lamp light, a respected father with his own lips administering the oath of office to the Vice-President, who thereupon became the President of the United States. And before leaving for Washington, visiting the grave of his mother, to put up a silent prayer for the future. It is a picture that goes to the very heart and soul and sentiment of the American people, and they will look upon it ever as a Providential succession, in which, as Garfield once said, when the mob attempted to assail the World Building after the assassination of Lincoln, quoting the conclusion of an old Psalm, "Clouds and darkness are round about His Throne," and wound up with the expression, "God reigns and the Government at Washington still lives." And so every American heart responded in echo to the administration of that oath in that old farm house in Vermont—"God reigns and the Government at Washington still lives." [Applause.]

I read an article by George Harvey, our late Ambassador to London, in *The North American Review*, touching upon the character and standing of Coolidge. He referred to one thing that struck my fancy, and perhaps may touch yours. He said, "A hundred years ago, an American President announced a policy that has since become fundamentally the basis of our relations with foreign countries, and the control of our international affairs. It was the Monroe Doctrine, basic in that respect," and then he quotes Calvin Coolidge in that hour of stress and trial in Massachusetts when he uttered that famous declaration which I may not quote *in haec verba*, but to this extent: "There is no justification for a strike against the public safety at any time, at any place, or by anybody." [Applause.] And when told that the publication

of that might end his political career, in his quiet way he said, "Very likely," and signed the paper. [Applause.]

So there will be incorporated as a basic principle in the regulation of the domestic affairs of this country, and it will serve as a rock of safety to meet that "surging tide" that Governor Sproul spoke about, "There is no time nor justification for a strike against the *public safety* at any time, at any place, or by anybody." That was his famous reply to Samuel Gompers.

My friends we have a wonderful ticket, but as has justly been remarked, it will not elect itself; no ticket ever does. We must work; we must educate our people up to a realization of what they are passing through; we must enlist the energy and the activity of every right-thinking American citizen so that this shall not be a mere victory by a margin, but an overwhelming victory like the one which greeted President Harding when he was elected to the high office of President. I want to see a flood tide of Americanism assert itself, and place these two men in these two important offices. I thank you. [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, the Chair notices that another veteran former President of The Union League has entered the room, a former Governor of the State of Pennsylvania, a former Mayor of Philadelphia, one of the strongest pillars of the Republican Party, and one of the best loved men in this organization. I know you will all want to hear from Governor Stuart. [Applause.]

HON. EDWIN S. STUART.—Mr. President and Members of the Union League: It is growing somewhat late, and I think we might well rest content with what we have heard here to-day. But I cannot resist saying that I have attended every ratification meeting at The Union League since I have been a member—I shall not attend as many more—and in all that time I have never known a ticket

that was entitled to the hearty support of every citizen who calls himself a Republican with greater earnestness and enthusiasm than the ticket nominated at Cleveland last week. [Applause.] A ticket that every man who calls himself a Republican can vote for with credit to himself and honor to the principles of this great nation. I do not think that any man who does not approve of this ticket, and who does not vote for this ticket, is a Republican, and he ought not to be classed as a Republican. [Applause.]

Now, my friends, there have been splendid speeches made here to-day, which I listened to as I stepped in quietly. And speaking of speeches, I am reminded that I read the other day an address by a very distinguished Democratic Senator, for whom I have a high personal regard, who said among other things, "What does the Republican party offer this time? Nothing but a man." Well, I thank God for that man. [Applause.] I should like to see the Democratic party produce such a man, but they cannot do it, no matter whom they nominate.

Coolidge, and the same is true of Dawes, is not a self-seeker. Neither would be false to the interests of his country and its people for personal advancement, or hesitate to support what he believed to be right and just, because of fear it might affect him adversely at an election in which he was a candidate. Both men would be guided solely by a sense of duty and not by what they might say or do. These are the men the Republican party offers this time and if it offered nothing else, as charged by the Democratic Senator whom I quoted, the ticket would be entitled to the loyal support of every Republican.

I remember very well—I am becoming a little personal and reminiscent now—I remember very well, years ago, seeing the first Lincoln parade. In it was a wagon upon which there was a representation of a rail-splitter. And I recall a little picture, which you have all seen and

remember, of Abraham Lincoln sitting before a grate fire and reading—educating himself; and then I thought, when I heard my friend, Congressman Graham, speak of the President, our nominee, born in a little farm house in Vermont, how, when the responsibilities of the Presidential office suddenly devolved upon him, at a time when he was in his father's home, without any electric light, without a telephone, he came down from his bedroom to assume the office and take the oath as President of the United States, the oath administered by his own father (a Justice of the Peace) in the little parlor of his home under the light of a coal-oil lamp. That is true democracy, and that is the type of man we have nominated for President of the United States. He stands for law and order; as he said: "There is no compromise that can be made on the question of the enforcement of law."

I want to say just this to-day, that if our candidate is elected it will be the result of a lot of work; work is absolutely essential; he will not be elected by meeting and resolving; victory at the polls cannot be won by merely getting together and hurrahing; it will be achieved by hard work between now and next November and every man must get down to that and help all he can.

Now, as to the nominee for the Vice-Presidency. The other day I clipped from an address he made just a few days before he was nominated for Vice-President, words that I think are most appropriate at the present time. I don't think that he had any idea when he uttered them, that, within six or seven days, he would be nominated for that high office. The address was delivered to the graduating class at his Alma Mater, in his college town, and these are the words of Brigadier General Dawes on that occasion. "The world and this country need the truth; we need leadership, fearless enough to face the crowd and to fight for an unpopular truth. If we are sick and need an operation, we cannot be cured by the soft,

sweet and honeyed medicine of demagogic quack doctors. We need the truth, and we need men fearless enough to stand up and tell us the truth, no matter how unpopular that truth may be." [Applause.]

Calvin Coolidge has done just that thing. Brigadier General Dawes also has done it, and with standard bearers of that kind, with the work of those who have gone before, with Coolidge as the candidate for the office of President, and Dawes for the office of Vice-President, I fondly hope and sincerely believe we shall triumph. And victory *will* be ours, if every man and woman throughout the length and breadth of this Republic who believes in the policies and principles of the Republican party and every citizen who believes in the mandates of the Constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court of the United States votes for these candidates at the election in November. [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, are there any further remarks on these resolutions offered by Mr. Patterson? Are you ready for the question? Mr. Secretary, will you read the resolution again?

THE SECRETARY.

Resolved, That The Union League of Philadelphia hereby ratifies the nomination of Hon. Calvin Coolidge, of Massachusetts, for President of the United States, and Brigadier General Charles G. Dawes of Illinois, for Vice-President of the United States, and pledges to the candidates of the Republican party and to their platform, the loyal support of The Union League.

Resolved, That the President of The Union League be and is hereby requested to appoint one hundred members of The Union League to serve as a campaign committee, whose duties shall be to assist in securing the success of the Republican party in the Presidential campaign of 1924, of which committee the President of The Union League shall be chairman.

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, you have heard the resolutions as read by the Secretary. All those in favor of

their adoption will please say "aye"; opposed, "no." They are unanimously adopted. That being the business for which the meeting is called, a motion to adjourn is in order.

It was moved and seconded that the meeting adjourn.

WILLIAM R. LYMAN,
Acting Secretary.

ANNUAL MEETING
OF
THE UNION LEAGUE OF PHILADELPHIA

Philadelphia, December 8, 1924.

The Sixty-second Annual Meeting of The Union League of Philadelphia was held this evening at eight o'clock.

President E. Pusey Passmore presided and Mr. Harold B. Beitler acted as Secretary.

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, the hour having arrived, the meeting will please come to order. In the absence of the Secretary, I will ask Director Beitler to act as Secretary for the evening. Mr. Secretary, will you be good enough to read the call for the Meeting?

THE SECRETARY.—

December 1, 1924.

The Annual Meeting of The Union League will be held on Monday evening, December 8, 1924, at 8 o'clock.

The polls for the election of officers and directors will be opened at 2 P. M. and remain open until 8 P. M.

Respectfully yours,

JOHN W. HAMER,

Secretary.

THE PRESIDENT.—This is the annual meeting of the corporation, gentlemen; according to the By-laws the first order of business is the reading of the minutes of the last annual meeting.

MR. DAVID HALSTEAD.—Mr. President, inasmuch as the proceedings of the annual meeting held December 10, 1923, were printed and distributed to the members, I move that the reading be dispensed with, and that they be approved and made a part of the proceedings of this meeting.

The motion was duly seconded, and upon being put to a vote was carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT.—The next order of business is the reading of the report of the Board of Directors.

MR. DAVID HALSTEAD.—Mr. President, as the report of the Board of Directors has been printed and circulated among the members, I move that the reading be dispensed with, and that it be approved and made a part of the proceedings of this meeting.

The motion was duly seconded, and upon being put to a vote was unanimously carried.

THE PRESIDENT.—The next item on the program is the report of the Treasurer and Auditors.

MR. DAVID HALSTEAD.—Mr. President, I move that inasmuch as the report of the Treasurer and Auditors has been printed and distributed among the members, that the reading be dispensed with, and that it be approved and made a part of the proceedings of this meeting.

The motion was duly seconded and upon being put to a vote was unanimously carried.

THE PRESIDENT.—It is usual at this Annual Meeting of the League to express its appreciation to those officers who are about to retire from the management.

MR. DAVID HALSTEAD.—Mr. President,

Whereas, Messrs. John W. Hamer, Melville G. Baker, Jonathan Jenks, Edward A. Stockton and Bayard Henry have declined to serve longer as Directors, therefore be it

Resolved, That the thanks of The Union League be and hereby are extended to the above named gentlemen for the faithful and efficient service rendered by them during the incumbency of their respective offices.

The motion was duly seconded, and upon being put to a vote was unanimously carried.

THE PRESIDENT.—New business is now in order. The Chair will ask the Secretary to read the proposed amendment to the By-Laws recommended by the Board

of Directors which has been posted for the last thirty days on the bulletin board downstairs.

THE SECRETARY.—The proposal is to amend Section 12 of Article I of the By-Laws, so that it shall read:

“Any male citizen of the United States of more than twenty-one years of age may be proposed for membership. Any such person who shall have been proposed by one active or life member, and seconded by another active or life member, in writing, and whose name, address and occupation, and the date of whose proposal and the names of whose proposer and seconder shall have been recorded in the ‘Register of Candidates for Membership,’ and shall have been posted on the bulletin board of the League for at least thirty days, and who, after the expiration of such period, shall have been reported by the Committee on Membership with a favorable recommendation, may at any stated meeting be admitted by the Board of Directors as an active member. Provided, that any person who, having been a member of The Union League of Philadelphia, and who has resigned therefrom honorably and without having had charges preferred against him, and any person who was in active service in the army or navy of the United States in the War of the Rebellion and was honorably discharged therefrom, shall, upon application, have his name placed at the head of the list of candidates for admission, and, if elected, shall pay the Treasurer the entrance fee and annual tax provided in Section 13 of the By-Laws. Provided further, that any member so elected shall be an addition to the number of active members authorized in Section 9.”

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, you have heard the reading of the proposed amendment. The Chair will recognize Senator Henry of the Board’s Committee having this matter in hand.

SENATOR BAYARD HENRY.—Mr. President and Members: This amendment is proposed by the unanimous action of the Board at the request of the Committee on Membership. It was thought that it would be advisable to change the By-laws so that men should be twenty-one years of age before their names were put up for membership. As we all know, many young men have been

nominated at the time of birth, some when they are five years of age, and some at ten and some at fifteen, and it was deemed wise to make this change, which, of course, cannot take effect for a good many years to come, as there are already a number of names, I think several hundred, that have been nominated that would not be affected by this by-law. The Secretary told me he would have a list; I do not know whether he sent it to you, Mr. Chairman, or not, but I spoke to him in regard to that list this afternoon to find out how many had been nominated who did not come under this by-law. Now, this by-law has raised some considerable discussion; I think the meeting ought to discuss it fully, and the members say what they think is advisable. I do not think any member of the Board or even of the Membership Committee is wedded to this particular by-law, and it is subject to amendment or subject to be postponed to another annual meeting, or whatever the members here feel to be the right course to take in regard to it. One amendment has been suggested, that no one be considered by the Committee for membership until he is twenty-five years of age. Now, I do not know whether that would meet with the approval of the Membership Committee, or whether it would meet with the approval of this meeting here to-night, but the amendment has been put before you for discussion. I hope there will be a full and free discussion, and if there is any question the matter can be postponed until another time, another meeting, or it can be amended here on the floor to-night.

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, the amendment is open for discussion. We invite a free and frank expression regarding it. As Senator Henry has said, it is the consensus of opinion of the members of the Membership Committee in conjunction with the Board that this is a good thing for the League to do.

SENATOR HENRY.—General Price has just spoken to me; he was not at the meeting of the Board when this was voted, and he is not in favor of the amendment. I think he certainly ought to speak on the subject.

THE PRESIDENT.—I will be very glad to hear from General Price.

GENERAL WILLIAM G. PRICE, JR.—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of The Union League: It is not just clear to my mind whether it is ethical, having been a member of the Board, for me to discuss this at this time, but I feel rather strongly against this amendment. I believe, considering the future, when clubs will not be as popular as they are to-day—perhaps most men will want only one or two clubs, one in the city and one in the country—that we are closing the door twelve or fifteen years hence against the sons of members. I can speak without any personal feeling, because all my sons are either away or in. I am proud to say I have some grandsons I would like to see in while I still live, but it will be impossible if this amendment passes. I am not one of those who believe that young men should not come into this League. The argument has been advanced that if they are elected at twenty-one years of age their political minds are not made up, but I do not know a better environment or a more proper association to mould their political opinions than right here in The Union League. [Applause.]

Some people have said that if a young man comes in when he is twenty-one, his father must put up his fee, which he could perhaps earn and put up himself at thirty. It has been my experience that most young men between thirty and forty are plugging pretty hard, and if they have made an affiliation with a club at twenty-one, perhaps a new athletic club, they will look pretty hard at four or five hundred dollars before parting with them to join another club at thirty-one. I am referring to The Union League as a club simply because we use it as a

club; I know it is not a club in the true sense, it is an institution; but I feel that any young man twenty-one years old is a better man for having joined it at that age, in the formative period of his life, and I think it would be a great mistake at this time to bar the sons and grandsons of members of the club who love it, who love its position and what it stands for.

I stopped to-night at a table where there was a father and son, and the father said, "My grandfather was a member of this organization, and I would like to see my grandson, who now lives, a member of this organization, but I won't see him a member if he cannot be proposed for membership until he is twenty-one years old." I am so proud of this organization that I would like to see every one who bears my name in it, if they are eligible, during my lifetime; I should like to tell them the position of this organization, what it stands for, and try to impart to them that same spirit at that age, for they will be more susceptible at that time than they might be at thirty-one or thirty-five. I am firmly of the belief, with a waiting list of thirty-nine hundred, that they would have to wait fifteen years, unless we take in another thousand, which was done within the last ten years. I hope, gentlemen, that the resolution will not prevail, and I apologize to the President and the Board of Directors; if when I was a member of the Board of Directors I did not attend the meeting and did not have an opportunity to vote on this, that was my own fault.

MR. JOHN C. LOWRY.—I thoroughly approve of all that General Price has said. I have had the experience of serving on the Committee on Membership. In the six or seven years I served on the Committee, there were few times that any young men came up—you could count them on the fingers of your two hands. I have endeavored to think back and think of any of those young men that I was instrumental, when serving on that Committee, in

having come in, who have done anything specially discreditable and I cannot think of a single one. Like General Price, I had my son join when he was about twenty-three, and a more loyal member of The Union League does not exist. This amendment will cut out the sons of members.

MR. PAUL G. LITTLEFIELD.—Mr. President and Members of The Union League: It seems to me that we should take a somewhat historical view of this matter in connection with the organization of The Union League in 1862, then known as The Union Club, and in 1863 as The Union League. At that time the Union sentiment in Philadelphia was not as strong as it should have been in view of the location of Philadelphia, north of the Mason and Dixon Line, and the fact that it had a great many patriotic Americans in its midst. For that reason The Union League of Philadelphia was organized, and it is really to perpetuate this sentiment of preserving and protecting the Union that The Union League of Philadelphia in one sense exists to-day. Now, the men who fought the war of the rebellion were in a very large majority under twenty-one years of age; I think the average age in the army of the Potomac and other armies was about nineteen years; many of the officers were not more than twenty-one years of age, some of them only twenty-one years of age when the war closed. We should bear that fact in mind.

We have at the present time and have had a Membership Committee; most of the men who come up for membership, who were put down on the membership application rolls at sixteen or seventeen years of age or younger, are placed there either by their fathers or their uncles. I believe, as has been said by the preceding speakers, in the idea of preserving the sentiment of The Union League and the purposes for which it was originally organized; and the sons and grandsons and great-grand-

sons of members, if we believe that heredity amounts to anything, are the very people to carry on the sentiments and principles of The Union League. If a young man who is put down, say—well, it takes eight or nine years—at thirteen, and he comes in at twenty-two years of age before the Membership Committee, I believe if he is too immature in appearance, or if they believe he is not at that time a suitable applicant for membership, that they will fearlessly exercise their prerogatives, do their duty and ask the young man to go back to the foot of the list. As borne out by the statement of the immediately preceding speaker, of the great many young people who came in at twenty-one or twenty-two or twenty-three or four years of age, I don't believe there was one of them who disgraced the great privilege of becoming a member of this organization and associating with men older in years. Furthermore, I believe personally it would be a mistake to have a club that is not well balanced in years; in other words, we want some young men in the club, just as we want men of middle age, and men of older years who have had experience to guide us. It seems to me we can trust the Membership Committee to decide as to the qualifications of applicants, and I was surprised to think that the Directors of The Union League have recommended this amendment for passage as it is submitted according to the printed statement. [Applause.]

MR. THOMAS B. HAMMER.—Mr. President, I brought two members in on one day, twenty-five years of age. They are very fond of The Union League, and I think have conducted themselves in such a way that they will be good and honorable members. I wrote to my son in North Carolina two years ago and told him if he wanted to resign he could come back at the head of the list in five years, and he wrote me it was such an honor to belong to The Union League of Philadelphia that he did not want to do that, if he did not come to the League door but once a year. [Applause.]

MR. JOHN T. RILEY.—Mr. President, everybody seems to be on one side to-night; the speaking all points to just one thing; but a number of us have been on the Membership Committee for a good many years, and while I was on the Membership Committee, and the rest of us, Mr. Smedley and a lot of us, we talked over this thing considerably. As I understand, Mr. President, this recommendation is practically from the Membership Committee; they met with a Committee of the Board of Directors, and the Board of Directors placed this before the meeting. I want to say just this, that it does not make a bit of difference to me personally whether it is passed or whether it is not passed; I am just as much in favor of young men as General Price or any other man; I like the boys to come in; the only question is whether it is for the best interests of The Union League. If it is for the best interests of The Union League to have this amendment voted down, why, if you all say so, I will vote it down with you. But the question is whether it is for the best interests of The Union League. The members of the Membership Committee have thought over this thing thoroughly and soundly, and according to their judgment, as I understand, Mr. President, it was mentioned to come before the Board of Directors of The Union League. Am I right?

THE PRESIDENT.—Yes.

MR. RILEY.—That is what I understand. I voted for this amendment when I was on the Board, and as I said to some of my friends, if it came up again under the same conditions, I would vote for it again, but only because we on the Membership Committee thought that it was for the best interests of the League. I am not against the young folks; everybody knows I am young myself; I like them around me; it doesn't make any difference to me, so that I question whether all this talk we have had here to-night has been pertinent to the subject. If you are against the Membership Committee of The

Union League, of course you will vote it down; if they are not the proper people to be on that Membership Committee—that is the reason I understand it was presented——

[Cries of No, No.]

MR. RILEY.—Am I right, Mr. President?

A VOICE.—No, you have got it wrong.

MR. RILEY.—Well, I have got it wrong—was I wrong, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT.—I did not get your statement, Mr. Riley.

MR. RILEY.—I simply said that the Membership Committee had talked about this thing, and a Committee had been appointed from the Board of Directors to consult with them, the way I understand it.

A VOICE.—No, that is wrong.

MR. E. LAWRENCE FELL.—Mr. President and Gentlemen of The Union League: I do not want this meeting to think that the Membership Committee is sensitive over any of its prerogatives in discussing this amendment; they have no such feelings at all.

We have had conditions arise as to applicants in the last year or two that have been difficult to handle because of the youth of the candidate. Many of these young men have had their names withdrawn and put at the bottom of the list by their fathers who have advised the Secretary that they felt their sons were too young to become members.

The Committee realizes that this is a Republican Club, and everyone of you when he applied for membership has been asked the question if he has voted always for the Republican candidate for President of the United States and members of Congress.

Some of our candidates last year were not twenty-two years of age and had never voted and their politics is in the future and undecided. We have had to accept them

and their statement that they expected always to vote the Republican ticket and their Republicanism was vouched for by their fathers. Perhaps twenty-five years is the proper age to join the League. We have been impressed by the hardship of the conditions imposed on candidates who were proposed by their fathers a little too soon and who are reached on our list before they are of age. The Committee of course cannot act on them and they are compelled to go to the bottom of the list and wait eight or nine years. We realize that this is unfortunate for them, but no other solution has so far offered itself.

I know that the Membership Committee as a unit has no sensitiveness about it itself and is entirely willing to do what you think best. With thirty-nine hundred candidates waiting this amendment would not be immediately operative whether the proposal is accepted or not. Some of the members who have just spoken were cautious enough to have their grandchildren proposed within the last twenty-four hours so as to make sure of it.

I am sure that both the Board of Directors and the Committee have thrown this amendment out only with the idea that we want it to be considered and if possible to be tested in some form. It is a question whether it is a good thing to bring a young man only twenty-one years of age into the club. Most of you did not come in at that age and while these young men might be improved by joining the club perhaps they had better wait and become acquainted with its history and traditions and early joining may be a dangerous experiment. Some members withdrew their sons this year and stated that they wanted them to wait until they were twenty-eight or twenty-nine years old and had established themselves in the community and had formed their own judgment as to what they were going to be politically, and at that

age they would better appreciate what The Union League of Philadelphia stands for.

HON. LEWIS H. VAN DUSEN.—Mr. President, not all of my children are girls; there are some of them boys, but I think this is a most excellent amendment, and I am heartily in favor of it. I do not believe that it is possible to weigh the political career or the business ability of any young man before he is twenty-seven or twenty-eight years of age. He has not had an opportunity to demonstrate his worth in this community, and the fact that he has the finest kind of father or grandfather should not make him eligible to this organization. This is recognized as one of the great business organizations of the country, as of course you know; this is a League which has among its members men of established business reputation, and I do not see how our Membership Committee can adequately pass upon the desirability of a man until he has had an opportunity to demonstrate in the world of business and politics what sort of man he is going to be. I think that that is a thing that we ought to consider when voting on this amendment.

MR. HAROLD B. BEITLER.—May I say a word?

THE PRESIDENT.—The Chair recognizes Mr. Beitler, who is also a member of the Committee from the Board.

MR. BEITLER.—Gentlemen, I want to say a word as to the reason for the presentation of this proposed amendment. The Board has in mind meeting the very condition that has been described to you by Mr. Fell of the Membership Committee. The Board has no idea of trying to get the members to adopt any particular amendment of the By-laws; but we realize, from talking things over with the members of the Membership Committee, that we do have a condition staring us in the face, and this is one attempt to meet that condition in a way that is fair to every one. We realize from the reports of the Membership Committee, and from talks with the members of that

Committee, that there were young men put up by their fathers, and other people interested in them, who came before the Committee a little before they were ripe. It was not fair to those boys to have them considered by the Membership Committee at the time that they came up in regular course. They had not established anything; they had not even made their own characters; they had not started in business; they had never voted; they did not know whether they wanted to be Republicans or Democrats, or belong to some other party, or adopt some "ism"; they hadn't had a chance to get any perspective on anything in life that is important. Some of them come before the Membership Committee before they are through college; they know what they have heard from some of the instructors in college and sometimes they take these things seriously, and sometimes they do not. They were coming in before the Committee half-baked, and we felt it was fairer to those young men to make it necessary for all of them to wait until they had at least established a political affiliation before they came before the Committee for consideration.

I think the suggestion of an amendment to provide that no one should be considered by the Membership Committee until he is twenty-five is a good one. That would mean that any candidate would have four years from the time of his majority, which would make it necessary for him to have passed some Presidential election, before he could be considered by the Committee. What he does at a local election, or even at a State election, does not establish him permanently as a good Republican or a good Democrat, if there is such a thing; it does not establish him politically in any way; the only way we have to make sure that that man has started out on the right track politically is to know how he has voted for President.

Our idea in proposing this amendment was, as I say,

simply to throw something before the members to be shot at, and, if they approved of it in any sense, to be adopted, to reach the condition that we are facing. [Applause.]

MAJOR DAVID S. B. CHEW.—Mr. President, I move to amend by substituting eighteen years of age for twenty-one. I think this would meet the views of both sides, because a man would have to be at least twenty-five years of age before his name would come before the Committee.

THE PRESIDENT.—Is that motion to amend seconded?

JUDGE VAN DUSEN.—I will second that motion.

THE PRESIDENT.—It has been moved and seconded that the proposed change be amended to read eighteen years where it now reads twenty-one. Are you ready for the question?

GENERAL PRICE.—Mr. President, I move another amendment, that the age of admission be fixed at twenty-five, because we don't know whether, ten years from now, it is going to take ten years to come in or twelve years or fourteen or nine years, so a man proposed at eighteen years of age would not under those circumstances get in under thirty years. I move that the age of admittance be made twenty-five.

MR. RILEY.—I second that motion.

THE PRESIDENT.—Now you have an amendment to an amendment to make the age of admission twenty-five or over. Is there any discussion of that amendment?

MR. LOWRY.—I would like to call the attention of the meeting to that fact that in 1899 it was proposed to make it twenty-five, and voted down at the suggestion of General Benson and George S. Graham.

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, are you ready for the question on General Price's last proposition, to make the age of admission twenty-five instead of twenty-one?

[The motion was then put.]

THE PRESIDENT.—It sounds as if the ayes have it. Will those who are in favor of that amendment please rise? Those who are opposed, please rise. The ayes have it. Now, gentlemen, I will have the Secretary read the proposition as amended.

THE SECRETARY.—I shall try to interpolate here to make it read properly: "Any male citizen of the United States may be proposed for membership. Any such person who shall have attained the age of twenty-five years, and who shall have been proposed by one active or life member" and so forth; there is no use reading the whole section.

THE PRESIDENT.—Do the members wish the entire amendment read?

A VOICE.—No.

THE PRESIDENT.—It just substitutes twenty-five for twenty-one, doesn't it?

THE SECRETARY.—It changes the wording a little bit. I have interpolated this wording as fitting in properly; I have scratched this down as they voted.

MR. JAMES S. COALE.—Mr. President, what interpretation do you put on a candidate, whose name comes up before the Membership Committee, who happens to be under twenty-five, and who has already been proposed for membership under that age?

THE SECRETARY.—That is your real difficulty-

THE PRESIDENT.—Under this amendment he would have to wait, as I understand it, until he is twenty-five, Mr. Coale.

MR. COALE.—Couldn't he go on the list under those circumstances?

THE PRESIDENT.—That would depend on his proposer, I suppose.

A VOICE.—Why not carry him along?

THE PRESIDENT.—General Price, what was your intention in this amendment?

GENERAL PRICE.—My intention was, sir, that anybody who is now on the list should be eligible when they are twenty-one. It applies only to those who are put on after this evening, after to-night.

THE PRESIDENT.—You did not mean that those who are on the list should be carried along until they are twenty-five in their present——

GENERAL PRICE.—No, that is not what I meant.

THE PRESIDENT.—You did not make it quite clear.

GENERAL PRICE.—I know I did not; I am sorry that I did not. You can amend it, I think.

THE PRESIDENT.—As I understand it then, General Price's amendment is not the mere substitution of "twenty-five" for the words "twenty-one" in the amendment as submitted, but to change that to have it apply only to those who are proposed after this date, is that right?

GENERAL PRICE.—That is the idea, sir.

THE PRESIDENT [to the Secretary].—Will you try to incorporate that?

THE SECRETARY.—I don't know how to put it, but I will try to get it in.

THE PRESIDENT.—I think the gentleman ought to submit his amendment in writing.

MR. HENRY SPALDING.—Mr. President, as you have this amended, it affects everybody on the list, I think there is no doubt of that; therefore, there ought to be a saving clause providing that those now on the list shall not be affected by the amendment.

THE PRESIDENT.—That is what General Price said he intended; that is what we are trying to cover.

MR. SPALDING.—The proviso then ought to read that no one who is hereafter proposed shall come before the Membership Committee until he is twenty-five years of age.

THE PRESIDENT.—Are the members ready to vote on

that amendment with that understanding, leaving it to the Secretary to work out the phraseology of it, carrying that into effect?

A VOICE.—Question.

THE PRESIDENT.—All in favor of the amendment of General Price, which now provides, as I understand it, that no one proposed for membership after this date shall be eligible until he has reached the age of twenty-five—does that make it clear?—all in favor of that amendment will give their consent by saying aye; opposed, no. It is carried, Mr. Secretary.

MR. E. NEWTON WIGFALL.—That is an amendment to an amendment; it therefore is subject to the first amendment, which changes the age of twenty-one to eighteen. You haven't quite stated it. You had first an amendment to change twenty-one to eighteen; then an amendment to an amendment, as you stated, which shall put in, "having attained the age of twenty-five", so now we have voted on the twenty-five, and if you vote on the eighteen and it is not passed, it throws out both; if it is passed, then you have both in.

THE PRESIDENT.—I took it the effect of this was to defeat the other.

MR. ROBERT W. TUNIS.—Mr. President, it is very simple. "Any male citizen of the United States of more than eighteen years of age may be proposed for membership." That is all right. Then General Price says, "Any such person, having attained the age of twenty-five, who shall have been proposed by one active or life member" and so on, and then he puts in the other phrase, which I think ought to be a separate clause, an entirely separate paragraph, providing that this goes into effect on and after to-day.

THE PRESIDENT.—General Price's amendment having been voted, are you ready for the question on that?

JUDGE VAN DUSEN.—Mr. Chairman, I think that is

dealing with technicalities. I believe it is the consensus of opinion of this meeting that twenty-five is acceptable to the very great majority, and I do not think it is necessary to go back just because of a technicality about eighteen. Twenty-five is satisfactory to the majority, and I move you, sir, it be so decided.

THE PRESIDENT.—If Judge Van Dusen would agree to withdraw his amendment, I think it will leave it very simple.

JUDGE VAN DUSEN.—I will withdraw my amendment on my understanding of General Price's amendment, which is that this action to-night does not apply to men already proposed.

THE PRESIDENT.—That is correct.

JUDGE VAN DUSEN.—That in the future no person shall be proposed for membership until he is eighteen years of age.

THE PRESIDENT.—No.

JUDGE VAN DUSEN.—Or should not be acted on until they are twenty-five years of age.

THE PRESIDENT.—That is right.

JUDGE VAN DUSEN.—That is my understanding of General Price's amendment just passed. I will withdraw my amendment.

THE PRESIDENT.—Will the seconder of Judge Van Dusen's amendment withdraw his second?

MR. RILEY.—I think I was the seconder; I will withdraw it.

MR. WIGFALL.—Mr. President, Mr. Van Dusen says he understands it just as I read it, that is, that he would have to be eighteen years of age.

THE PRESIDENT.—No, he corrected himself on that.

JUDGE VAN DUSEN.—As a matter of fact, I did not propose the amendment; I seconded it. The amendment I seconded was that no one should be proposed until they were eighteen years of age. Is that correct?

THE PRESIDENT.—Yes.

JUDGE VAN DUSEN.—I consent that that be withdrawn.

THE PRESIDENT.—May I have the name then of the maker of that amendment?

THE SECRETARY.—Major Chew.

THE PRESIDENT.—Is Major Chew present?

A VOICE.—He has gone home.

JUDGE VAN DUSEN.—I might state publicly that he was satisfied with the amendment of General Price.

MR. SPALDING.—Mr. President, I move we act on Major Chew's amendment. I think we must act on it, since he is not here to withdraw it. The amendment of Major Chew is that no one shall be proposed for membership who has not yet reached eighteen years of age.

THE PRESIDENT.—Are you ready for the question?

The motion was thereupon put and declared lost.

THE PRESIDENT.—Now we are back to the original proposition with General Price's amendment in mind.

GENERAL PRICE.—Do you wish me to state it again, sir?

THE PRESIDENT.—Yes, sir; will you state it now?

GENERAL PRICE.—My amendment is that from and after the passage of this amendment no man shall be eligible until he has reached the age of twenty-five years; provided, however, that this does not affect anybody now on the list for membership; such candidates will be acted upon when they reach the age of twenty-one years.

The amendment was then seconded.

MR. WILLIAM HENRY SMEDLEY.—Do I understand then that those men will be held up until they arrive at the age of twenty-five?

GENERAL PRICE.—No, they can be acted upon, those who are on the list now.

MR. SMEDLEY.—Any of those proposed after to-day?

GENERAL PRICE.—No, those on the list now will be acted upon when they reach the age of twenty-one years.

MR. SMEDLEY.—Well, those that come after, according to your resolution——

GENERAL PRICE.—Twenty-five years of age.

MR. SMEDLEY.—Suppose, according to the regular routine, they will be twenty-three years of age when they come up, will they be held up?

GENERAL PRICE.—No, they will be acted upon.

MR. SMEDLEY.—They won't be acted upon until they are twenty-five?

THE PRESIDENT.—Mr. Smedley, it does not affect anybody on the roll at the present time.

MR. SMEDLEY.—But those who come up afterward, those who are proposed after this date—suppose in the regular routine they are twenty-three years of age when they are reached?

THE PRESIDENT.—They would be acted on the same as they are now.

MR. SMEDLEY.—Then they would be held over until they reached twenty-five?

THE PRESIDENT.—Well, whatever is the procedure.

MR. SMEDLEY.—Just so I understand.

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, let's have it understood; General Price's amendment to the original proposition is to the effect that anyone proposed for membership after this date shall not be eligible until he reaches the age of twenty-five, with the understanding that this does not affect anybody on the proposal list at the present time. Now, is that clear?

DR. JOSEPH M. REEVES.—Can't he be proposed until he is twenty-five?

A VOICE.—Oh, no.

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, are you ready for the question?

The amendment was thereupon put to a vote and declared carried.

THE PRESIDENT.—Are the tellers ready to make their

report? While the tellers are making ready, Vice-President Lyman will take the Chair.

VICE-PRESIDENT LYMAN.—The Chair recognizes the President, Mr. Passmore.

PRESIDENT PASSMORE.—Mr. Chairman, and Members of The Union League: As Chairman of the Campaign Committee, I would like to submit the following report:

Philadelphia, December 1, 1924.

To The Union League of Philadelphia.

GENTLEMEN:—Pursuant to resolutions unanimously adopted at a meeting of The Union League of Philadelphia, held June 18th, 1924, for the purpose of ratifying the nominations of Coolidge and Dawes and of endorsing the platform of the Cleveland Convention, your President, as Chairman, appointed a committee to assist in the election of the Republican candidates.

This committee organized by the election of Messrs. Edward T. Stotesbury, Edwin S. Stuart, William C. Sproul, J. Howell Cummings and Charles J. Webb as Vice-Chairmen, Messrs. E. Lawrence Fell and Harold B. Beitler as Secretaries, and Mr. Horace C. Jones as Treasurer. Messrs. Drexel and Company were named as the depository for funds.

Sub-committees were subsequently appointed, and an appeal was made to the members for contributions. Four campaign luncheons were held, which were well attended and at which leading Republicans were the speakers.

As a result of the efforts of the Committee a total of \$78,100. was subscribed by 1,453 members, an average of a little less than \$54 per person. Every dollar of this fund was forwarded, in installments, as the contributions accumulated, to the Chairman of the Republican National Committee, who has expressed grateful appreciation for the timely assistance.

Thus, members of the League may properly feel much satisfaction in having been a considerable factor in the splendid victory of the Republican party in November.

Respectfully submitted on behalf of the Campaign Committee.

E. PUSEY PASSMORE,
Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of the report and the discharge of the Committee.

[Motion seconded.]

THE CHAIRMAN.—A motion has been made that the report of the Campaign Committee be approved and made a part of the proceedings of this meeting. Are you ready for the question?

The motion was thereupon put and declared carried, after which the President resumed the Chair.

THE PRESIDENT.—If the tellers are ready, we will be very glad to have their report. Gentlemen. I will ask the Secretary to read the report of the tellers.

THE SECRETARY [reading].—

“To the President and Board of Directors of The Union League of Philadelphia:

GENTLEMEN: The tellers appointed to conduct the election for Officers and Directors beg leave to report that 1,144 ballots were cast, of which 28 were irregular as to markings, being without the required cross mark, and not counted, and three irregular as to Vice-Presidents, the balance being counted. The respective candidates received the number of votes set opposite their names.”

W. HARRY MILLER,
Chairman.

GEORGE T. Gwilliam
CHARLES H. CLARKE
THOMAS H. ASHTON
WILLIAM A. POWELL
DAVIS L. LEWIS
WILLIAM K. WILSON
JAMES V. ELLISON

MILLARD D. BROWN
HENRY T. PAISTE
CHARLES J. MAXWELL
HENRY H. HORROCKS
JOHN K. WILLIAMS
WILLIAM H. STUART
MALCOLM G. CAMPBELL

President:

E. Pusey Passmore.....	1,003
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Vice-Presidents:

Melville G. Baker.....	540
J. Warner Hutchins.....	508
John T. Riley.....	474
William R. Lyman.....	542
Jonathan Jenks.....	402
Bayard Henry.....	514
Charles J. Webb.....	414
William G. Price, Jr.....	443

Directors:

Charles E. Roberts.....	772
D. L. Anderson.....	547
Horace C. Jones.....	564
James E. Mitchell.....	766
Edgar G. Cross.....	659
E. Lawrence Fell.....	679
William J. Montgomery.....	562
Louis J. Kolb.....	440
Frank R. Savidge.....	355
J. Harry Mull.....	557
Wm. Henry Smedley.....	655
Charles P. Vaughan.....	595
Charles R. Miller.....	731
Walter P. Sharp.....	565
Carroll R. Williams.....	465
W. Kirkland Dwier.....	579
George Stuart Patterson.....	531
Harold B. Beitler.....	700
John C. Hinckley.....	342
Robert M. Green, Jr.....	464

Advisory Real Estate Board:

Edwin S. Stuart.....	798
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THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, the Secretary will now read the names of those who have been elected.

THE SECRETARY.—President: E. Pusey Passmore. Vice-Presidents: Melville G. Baker, J. Warner Hutchins, William R. Lyman, Bayard Henry. Directors: Charles E. Roberts, D. L. Anderson, Horace C. Jones, James E. Mitchell, Edgar G. Cross, E. Lawrence Fell, William J. Montgomery, J. Harry Mull, Wm. Henry Smedley, Charles P. Vaughan, Charles R. Miller, Walter P. Sharp, W. Kirkland Dwier, George Stuart Patterson, Harold B. Beitler. Advisory Real Estate Board: Edwin S. Stuart.

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, you have heard the names of the successful candidates read. I declare them elected to their respective posts for the ensuing year, or until their successors are chosen. They will be notified by the Secretary. A motion to adjourn is in order.

On motion, duly seconded and carried, the meeting was then adjourned.

HAROLD B. BEITLER,
Acting Secretary.

SIXTY-SECOND ANNUAL REPORT
of the
BOARD OF DIRECTORS
of
THE UNION LEAGUE OF PHILADELPHIA

November 11, 1924.

To the Members of The Union League of Philadelphia:

GENTLEMEN:—Pursuant to the requirements of the By-Laws, your Board of Directors submits its report for the year ending October 31, 1924, together with the reports of the Treasurer and of the House, Guest, Finance and Library Committees for the same period.

The Board organized on the evening following the election and unanimously re-elected John W. Hamer Secretary, and James E. Mitchell Treasurer.

The President then appointed the following standing committees:

HOUSE COMMITTEE.—Vice-President William R. Lyman, Chairman; James E. Mitchell, Wm. Henry Smedley, Charles R. Miller and Charles E. Roberts.

GUEST COMMITTEE.—Vice-President William G. Price, Jr., Chairman; John W. Hamer, Jonathan Jenks, Harold B. Beitler and Edgar G. Cross.

FINANCE COMMITTEE.—Vice-President John T. Riley, Chairman; Melville G. Baker, Edward A. Stockton, Bayard Henry and W. Kirkland Dwier.

LIBRARY COMMITTEE.—Vice-President J. Warner Hutchins, Chairman; Edgar G. Cross, J. Harry Mull, D. L. Anderson and Robert M. Green, Jr.

The following gentlemen were elected to serve as Auditors and on the Committee on Membership for the ensuing year:

AUDITORS.—W. Harry Miller, William A. Powell and James V. Ellison.

COMMITTEE ON MEMBERSHIP.—A. C. McGowin, Frank van Roden, William L. Supplee, E. Lawrence Fell, William H. Kingsley, William E. Arey, John C. Jones, Carroll R. Williams, David Halstead, Charles P. Vaughan, Walter Clothier, William C. L. Eglin and Howard S. Williams.

Stated meetings of your Board were held each month during the year and a special meeting was held on May 26, 1924.

A special meeting of The Union League of Philadelphia was held June 18, 1924, for the purpose of ratifying the nominations of Honorable Calvin Coolidge for President of the United States, and Brigadier-General Charles G. Dawes for Vice-President of the United States, and the following resolutions were adopted unanimously at this meeting:

“Resolved, That The Union League of Philadelphia hereby ratifies the nomination of Honorable Calvin Coolidge, of Massachusetts, for President of the United States, and Brigadier-General Charles G. Dawes, of Illinois, for Vice-President of the United States, and pledges to the candidates of the Republican Party and to their platform the loyal support of The Union League.

“Resolved, That the President of The Union League be and is hereby requested to appoint one hundred members of The Union League to serve as a Campaign Committee, whose duties shall be to assist in securing the success of the Republican ticket in the presidential election of 1924 and of which committee the President of The Union League shall be the Chairman.”

The following statement shows the number of members on the several rolls at the beginning and at the close of the fiscal year:

Active Members, November 1, 1923.....	2,974
Deaths.....	81
Resignations.....	31
Transferred to Active Life Roll.....	7
Dropped.....	4
	— 123
	<hr/> 2,851
Elected during the year.....	124
	<hr/>
Active Members, October 31, 1924.....	<u><u>2,975</u></u>

Active Life Members, November 1, 1923.....	150
Deaths.....	7
	<u>143</u>
Transferred during the year.....	7
Active Life Members, October 31, 1924.....	<u>150</u>
Re-elected under Amended By-Law, adopted December 9, 1907, Number on Roll November 1, 1923.....	18
Deaths.....	1
	<u>17</u>
Elected during the year.....	1
Number on Re-elected Roll, October 31, 1924.....	<u>18</u>
Members on Army, Navy and Consular Roll, November 1, 1923.....	27
Deaths.....	1
Resignations.....	2
Dropped.....	1
Declined to qualify.....	1
	<u>5</u>
	22
Elected during the year.....	7
Members on Army, Navy and Consular Roll, October 31, 1924.....	<u>29</u>
Honorary Members, October 31, 1924.....	<u>2</u>
Clerical Members, November 1, 1923.....	102
Deaths.....	2
Resignations.....	16
	<u>18</u>
	84
Elected during the year.....	12
Clerical Members, October 31, 1924.....	<u>96</u>

The names on the "Register of Candidates for Membership" October 31, 1924, numbered 3869.

The report of the House Committee gives the details of the management of the house and the improvements made for the comfort of the members.

The report of the Guest Committee mentions the reception to Honorable Simeon D. Fess, U. S. Senator from Ohio, on February 15, and the reception to Honorable W. Freeland Kendrick, Mayor of Philadelphia, and his Cabinet, on March 4, 1924.

In the interest of the Republican candidates The Union League gave a series of four luncheons.

1st luncheon, Friday, October 3, 1924:

Speakers: E. Pusey Passmore, President.
Honorable Charles R. Miller.
Charles P. Vaughan.
E. T. Stotesbury.
Morris L. Clothier.
Benjamin H. Ludlow.
Honorable Edwin S. Stuart.

2d luncheon, Monday, October 12, 1924:

Speaker: Honorable Henry J. Allen, former Governor of Kansas.

3d luncheon, Tuesday, October 21, 1924:

Speaker: Honorable David A. Reed, U. S. Senator from Pennsylvania.

4th luncheon, Wednesday, October 29, 1924:

Speaker: Honorable Harlan F. Stone, Attorney General of the United States, who was presented to the members by Honorable George Wharton Pepper.

The officers of the Campaign Committee also conducted a vigorous campaign to raise funds for the Republican National Committee, and they were more successful in this than in any previous Presidential campaign, 1453 members of the League making substantial contributions. All of the amount collected was forwarded promptly to

the Chairman of the Republican National Committee, who in his acknowledgment thereof expressed keen appreciation of our efforts and congratulated us on making one of the largest contributions of any Republican organization in the country.

The report of the Finance Committee and that of the Treasurer give full information regarding the finances of The Union League.

The Library Committee's report gives an account of the work done in connection with the library.

The thanks of your Board and of The Union League are due to the Committee on Membership for the diligence and care exercised in maintaining the high standard of our membership.

On Monday, January 2, 1924, the usual New Year's day reception by the President, Vice-Presidents and Directors was held, the attendance being 1906.

The Presidential election presented an unusual spectacle this year. The advent of a third party, composed of extreme liberals, which drew to its support Socialists of every shade and all the radicals opposed to our present governmental standards, threatened to make serious inroads upon the two old political parties, and made the issue of the campaign clear cut between the conservatives and liberals. The Republican Party, as always, represented the stable, conservative form of constitutional government upon which the growth and prosperity of the nation has been builded.

The result of this was that the third party cast half as many votes at this election as the Democratic Party, but the good sense and sound judgment of the American people prevailed and the Republican Party received one and a half times as many votes as all the other parties combined, electing President Coolidge and General Dawes by an overwhelming majority. They stand for patriotism, for protection and the personal and property rights for which

this Republic was founded, and we may look forward with confidence to four years of sane, sensible, capable administration. Seldom has the platform of the Republican Party and the personnel of its candidates so fully expressed the convictions and ideals of the members of The Union League, and their endorsement at the polls by such a tremendous vote must be a source of profound satisfaction to our membership.

Respectfully submitted on behalf of the Board of Directors.

JOHN W. HAMER,
Secretary.

ACTIVE LIFE ROLL

DECEASED

COLKET, C. HOWARD.....	Jan. 28, 1924
HEED, CHARLES E.....	Nov. 30, 1923
HEMPSTEAD, W. O.....	Apr. 15, 1924
KING, WILLIAM R.....	Feb. 2, 1924
MULLER, GEORGE K.....	May 24, 1924
SHEPPARD, A. MAXWELL.....	Mar. 26, 1924
SMITH, E. ELDRIDGE.....	Feb. 22, 1924

ACTIVE ROLL

DECEASED

AYRES, LOUIS H.....	Feb. 19, 1924
BAILEY, RICHARD W.....	Nov. 22, 1923
BAINBRIDGE, EMPSON H., M. D.....	Jan. 21, 1924
BANKS, GEORGE W.....	June 8, 1924
BARR, J. E.....	Feb. 5, 1924
BARRATT, NORRIS S.....	Apr. 26, 1924
BARROWS, WILLARD P.....	Dec. 25, 1923
BEURY, HENRY C.....	Apr. 9, 1924
BLAIR, WILLIAM L.....	Aug. 9, 1924
BOWER, CHARLES F.....	Apr. 20, 1924
BUCKMAN, JAMES.....	June 15, 1924
BUTTON, CONYERS.....	June 26, 1924
BUZBY, DUNCAN L.....	June 25, 1924
CARRUTH, JOHN G.....	Sept. 2, 1924
CARTER, SAMUEL E.....	June 9, 1924
CORYELL, JAMES B.....	Feb. 7, 1924
DARLINGTON, H. S.....	July 22, 1924
DAWSON, WILLIAM J.....	Dec. 30, 1923
DORNAN, T. BENTON.....	June 11, 1924
DUNCAN, HAROLD M.....	Oct. 9, 1924
FARR, EDWARD L.....	Aug. 21, 1924
FITCH, E. H.....	Sept. 20, 1924
FORSYTH, WILLIAM.....	Dec. 14, 1923
FRAILEY, LEONARD M.....	Dec. 31, 1923
FRENCH, HOWARD B.....	Oct. 16, 1924
GRAHAM, J. WALLACE.....	Sept. 10, 1924
GREY, NORMAN.....	Oct. 11, 1924
GRIFFITH, WARREN G.....	Dec. 1, 1923
GUMMEY, CHARLES FRANCIS.....	Dec. 21, 1923
HANNA, W. W.....	June 7, 1924
HARDING, WILLIAM H.....	Mar. 12, 1924
HARPER, THOMAS B.....	June 27, 1924
HARR, MILTON K.....	Aug. 4, 1924
HART, LANE S.....	Aug. 13, 1924

HARVEY, CHARLES MCD.....	Oct. 26, 1924
HURLBUT, C. STANLEY.....	Sept. 30, 1924
JAMES, ALVAN T.....	Feb. 12, 1924
JUSTICE, THEODORE.....	May 1, 1924
KNOX, SAMUEL M.....	Apr. 8, 1924
LAPLACE, ERNEST, M.D.....	May 15, 1924
LARUE, ALBERT.....	Nov. 23, 1923
LEVIN, VICTOR.....	Aug. 27, 1924
LINFOOT, ERNEST E.....	June 14, 1924
LUCAS, WILLIAM W.....	May 17, 1924
MCCAHAN, JAMES M.....	Oct. 24, 1924
MCQUILLEN, JOHN H.....	Jan. 11, 1924
MARVIN, SYLVESTER S.....	May 13, 1924
MASSEY, GEORGE V.....	Oct. 21, 1924
MITCHELL, ELMER E.....	Aug. 13, 1924
MITCHELL, WILSON.....	Oct. 15, 1924
MOORE, ALFRED.....	Nov. 22, 1923
MOORE, EDWARD W.....	Feb. 14, 1924
MOOREHEAD, H. STEWART.....	Apr. 15, 1924
MORRIS, A. G.....	Aug. 21, 1924
PAIST, JOSEPH H.....	July 24, 1924
PECK, J. NEWTON.....	Jan. 16, 1924
PIERSOL, GEORGE A., M.D.....	Aug. 7, 1924
PRIZER, HARRY A.....	Oct. 5, 1924
REYNOLDS, CHARLES A.....	June 23, 1924
RISTINE, GEORGE H.....	Oct. 9, 1924
RITER, MICHAEL M., JR.....	Sept. 22, 1924
ROBERTS, EDMOND B.....	Feb. 22, 1924
SCATTERGOOD, HENRY W.....	Nov. 27, 1923
SHANNON, ALFRED P.....	Sept. 12, 1924
SHARP, WILLIAM H.....	Feb. 20, 1924
SHAW, FREDERIC.....	Jan. 30, 1924
SMEDLEY, FRANKLIN.....	Sept. 22, 1924
SMITH, ALBERT F.....	Dec. 4, 1923
SPENCER, WILLIAM, M. D.....	Feb. 13, 1924
STAAKE, WILLIAM H.....	July 30, 1924
STAMBACH, MARK R. M.....	Feb. 17, 1924
STOEVEER, WILLIAM C.....	Oct. 27, 1924
STROUD, MORRIS W., JR.....	Mar. 24, 1924
SWARTLEY, JOHN C.....	Feb. 9, 1924
TWADDELL, J. LEWIS.....	Jan. 9, 1924
VANDLING, FRANK M.....	Sept. 27, 1924
VANDUSEN, JOSEPH B., JR.....	May 16, 1924
WHITE, JOSEPH J.....	May 4, 1924
WIEDERSHEIM, JOHN A.....	Dec. 17, 1923
WIGGAN, ALFRED R.....	Oct. 15, 1924
WILSON, J. CLIFFORD.....	Nov. 14, 1923

TRANSFERRED TO ACTIVE LIFE ROLL

BAINS, ERSKINE.....	Apr.	1, 1924
BROWN, HENRY I.....	June	4, 1924
COLLINS, WILLIAM J., JR.....	July	3, 1924
HAINES, STANLEY K.....	Mar.	11, 1924
HUEY, ARTHUR B.....	Dec.	13, 1923
ISBISTER, WILLIAM H.....	June	4, 1924
JUSTI, HENRY M.....	Feb.	28, 1924

RESIGNED

BAIN, HENRY, JR.....	Oct.	31, 1924
BLAKEMAN, W. H.....	Jan.	8, 1924
BROOKS, EDWARD, JR.....	Sept.	9, 1924
CHANCE, ROBERT C.....	Jan.	8, 1924
CHANDLEE, EVAN G.....	Aug.	12, 1924
FAUSSETT, JOHN H.....	Oct.	31, 1924
FITLER, EDWIN H.....	Oct.	31, 1924
GIBBS, W.W.....	Feb.	11, 1924
GREEN, ERNEST LEROY.....	Dec.	11, 1923
HARDING, FREDERIC L.....	Feb.	11, 1924
HARRINGTON, W. E.....	Dec.	11, 1923
HEYL, ROBERT C., JR.....	Dec.	11, 1923
HOOPER, JAMES P.....	Oct.	31, 1924
MADEIRA, LOUIS C.....	Oct.	31, 1924
MARSHALL, THOMAS W.....	Oct.	31, 1924
MORSE, W. G.....	Dec.	11, 1923
OSBORNE, OWEN, JR.....	May	13, 1924
PARKER, E. BRANSON.....	Oct.	31, 1924
PEIRCE, THOMAS MAY, JR.....	May	26, 1924
PIERPOINT, J. R.....	Oct.	31, 1924
PRIZER, HARRY A., JR.....	Oct.	14, 1924
RAMBO, CHARLES N.....	Oct.	31, 1924
RAWLE, FRANCIS.....	Oct.	31, 1924
READING, J. HERBERT, M.D.....	Oct.	31, 1924
SHAW, CHARLES F., JR.....	Sept.	9, 1924
SHERWOOD, ALBERT G.....	Oct.	31, 1924
SHOWELL, G. REX.....	Oct.	14, 1924
SMITH, HASELTINE.....	Oct.	31, 1924
STELLWAGEN, E.....	Oct.	31, 1924
STRAWBRIDGE, ROBERT E.....	May	13, 1924
ZANE, GEORGE W.....	Oct.	31, 1924

DROPPED

BEACH, CHARLES A.....	July	2, 1924
BOWER, COLLIER L., M.D.....	July	2, 1924
MILLER, GEORGE M. C.....	July	2, 1924
RICHARDS, J. V. K.....	July	2, 1924

RE-ELECTED ROLL

DECEASED

RICHARDS, HORACE E.....Feb. 3, 1924

ARMY, NAVY AND CONSULAR ROLL

DECEASED

RAY, CHARLES M., Paymaster U. S. N.....Mar. 23, 1924

RESIGNED

LANE, CHARLES W., Lieutenant U. S. N.....Sept. 9, 1924

ZALINSKI, M. GRAY, Colonel U. S. A.....July 8, 1924

DROPPED

CARLETON, WILLIAM A., Lieutenant Colonel U. S. A. . July 2, 1924

DECLINED TO QUALIFY

POINT, WILL H., Lieutenant Colonel U. S. A.....Apr. 9, 1924

CLERICAL ROLL

DECEASED

HARRIS, H. RICHARD.....July 30, 1924

OGLE, HARRY K. B.....Feb. 4, 1924

RESIGNED

CROWTHER, J. E.....Jan. 8, 1924

HEATHCOTE, C. W.....Feb. 11, 1924

HEZLEP, HERBERT.....Jan. 8, 1924

JOHNSON, AMOS.....Feb. 11, 1924

JONES, CARTER HELM.....Feb. 11, 1924

JONES, EVERT LEON.....Feb. 11, 1924

McCRONE, HUGH B.....Feb. 11, 1924

MELHORN, NATHAN R.....Feb. 11, 1924

MITCHELL, WILLIAM S.....Jan. 8, 1924

NINDE, EDWARD S.....Jan. 8, 1924

PHILLIPS, Z. B. T.....July 8, 1924

RADCLIFFE, RICHARD.....May 13, 1924

SHOOK, J. PURMAN.....Jan. 8, 1924

STEWART, HAROLD STANLEY.....Oct. 31, 1924

UPJOHN, SAMUEL.....Feb. 11, 1924

YERKES, ROYDEN K.....Feb. 11, 1924

TREASURER'S REPORT

of

INCOME AND EXPENSES

Year ended October 31, 1924

INCOME

Annual Tax.....	\$384,401.21
Card case drawers, rent of.....	8.00
Dividend on deposit for perpetual insurance.	187.92
Interest on bank balances.....	4,966.75
Interest on Reserve Fund investments.....	561.00
Letter boxes, rent of.....	290.00
Playing cards (net).....	104.75
Umbrellas (net).....	297.40
Wardrobes, rent of.....	798.75
	<hr/> \$391,615.78

EXPENSES

Auto truck—maintenance and depreciation..	\$2,761.76
Buildings—maintenance and depreciation. . .	23,822.98
Christmas decorations.....	350.00
Christmas Fund for employes.....	13,285.00
Club Nights, Luncheons, etc.....	3,829.02
Coal and wood for grates and steam heat....	4,421.26
Furnishings—maintenance and depreciation.	23,314.56
House supplies.....	533.11
Insurance premiums.....	7,272.25
Interest on Union League Bonds.....	14,653.22
Motion Picture exhibitions.....	826.90
New Year's Day expenses.....	2,102.30
Petty cash disbursements.....	389.36
Premiums on Fidelity Bonds.....	473.18
Printing Reports, Membership Lists, Notices, etc.....	3,181.64
Public Accountant's fees.....	1,350.00
Rawlings, James S., reimbursement for med- ical expenses.....	500.00
	<hr/>
Carried forward.....	\$103,066.54 \$391,615.78

Brought forward.....	\$103,066.54	\$391,615.78
Rent, 1418 Sansom Street.....	1,200.00	
Saturday afternoon concerts.....	948.00	
Stationery and postage for offices.....	3,439.35	
Stationery for writing rooms.....	885.00	
Taxes on League Buildings.....	87,513.12	
Telephones, tickers (net).....	9,736.98	
Tournaments—Billiard, Pool, Cowboy Pool, Bowling, etc.....	453.33	
Uniforms.....	3,689.09	
Wages and board—house employees.....	58,324.25	
Water rent.....	4,478.88	
Cleaning Department:		
Wages and board.....	14,196.09	
Supplies.....	2,454.51	
Uniforms.....	511.44	
Coat Rooms and Lavatories:		
Wages and board.....	9,599.50	
Linen.....	332.44	
Supplies.....	761.75	
Uniforms.....	554.55	
Ice and Refrigeration:		
Wages.....	960.00	
Repairs and supplies.....	8,464.35	
Uniforms.....	18.50	
Laundry:		
Wages.....	7,407.93	
Repairs and supplies.....	4,690.56	
Steam and Electric Light Plant:		
Wages and board.....	17,786.72	
Repairs and supplies.....	23,211.86	
Uniforms.....	275.50	
Campaign Committee.....	3,077.91	
Committee on Membership.....	1,062.83	
Guest Committee.....	6,446.95	
Library Committee.....	8,225.82	
War Memorial Committee.....	204.67	
		383,978.42
Excess of income—House Department.....		\$7,637.36
Excess of expenses—Operating Departments (see detailed statement).....		5,510.46
Net excess of income, year ended October 31, 1924.....		<u>\$2,126.90</u>

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS OF DEPARTMENTS FOR YEAR ENDING
OCTOBER 31, 1924

	Barber Shop	Billiards and Pool	Bowling Alleys	Lodging Rooms	Tailoring	Turkish Baths	Restaurant	Beverages	Cigars	Total
Receipts.....	\$18,943.12	\$10,639.00	\$545.25	\$62,127.81	\$1,441.20	\$6,145.25	\$395,522.89	\$6,390.33	\$154,670.40	\$656,425.25
Wages and board.....	\$16,879.61	\$10,616.54	\$1,649.20	\$39,500.04	\$1,077.78	\$4,372.04	\$176,726.31	\$6,039.25	\$7,702.82	\$264,563.59
Supplies.....	1,199.79	886.05	153.47	942.12	24.95	853.93	211,490.63	4,151.66	133,810.10	353,512.70
Repairs.....	.....	31.95	.....	.....	.....	.....	750.21	.....	.....	782.16
Fuel.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6,157.71	.....	.....	6,157.71
Stationery and Printing.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,350.30	.....	105.59	4,455.89
Uniforms.....	.....	720.70	.....	1,285.08	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,005.78
China, Glass, Linen.....	19.04	.....	.....	1,702.00	.....	260.64	18,780.55	128.91	.....	20,891.14
Silverware.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,053.15	.....	.....	3,053.15
Other expenses.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5,060.75	115.99	1,336.85	6,513.59
Total.....	\$18,098.44	\$12,255.24	\$1,802.67	\$43,429.24	\$1,102.73	\$5,486.61	\$426,369.61	\$10,435.81	\$142,955.36	\$661,935.71
Excess of income.....	\$844.68	.....	.....	\$18,698.57	\$338.47	\$658.64	.....	.....	\$11,715.04	.....
Excess of expenses.....	.....	\$1,616.24	\$1,257.42	.....	.....	.....	\$30,846.72	\$4,045.48	.....	\$5,510.46

PERMANENT FUND

Cash Balance, October 31, 1923..... \$9,831.25

RECEIPTS

125 Entrance Fees at \$300.....	\$37,500.00	
7 Life Membership Fees at \$1,000.....	7,000.00	
Interest on bank balances.....	224.26	
		<u>44,724.26</u>
Total.....		\$54,555.51

DISBURSEMENTS

Deposited in the Sinking Fund.....	50,000.00
Cash Balance October 31, 1924.....	<u>\$4,555.51</u>

SINKING FUND ACCOUNT

Balance, October 31, 1923.....	\$223.75
Deposited in the Sinking Fund.....	\$50,000.00
Interest on deposits.....	7.27
	<u>50,007.27</u>
Total.....	\$50,231.02
Bonds purchased and cancelled.....	50,000.00
Balance, October 31, 1924.....	<u>\$231.02</u>

BOND ACCOUNT

Union League 4.4 per cent bonds due March 1, 1939:

Bonds outstanding October 31, 1923.....	\$360,000.00
Bonds purchased and cancelled:	
November 16, 1923.....	\$10,000.00
January 18, 1924.....	10,000.00
April 14, 1924.....	10,000.00
June 16, 1924.....	10,000.00
October 20, 1924.....	10,000.00
	<u>50,000.00</u>
Bonds outstanding October 31, 1924.....	<u>\$310,000.00</u>

GEORGE S. PEPPER LIBRARY TRUST FUND

Invested in Pennsylvania Railroad Company, General Mortgage, 4½ per cent Gold Bonds, Series A, due June 1, 1965.....	\$8,000.00
U. S. Third 4¼ per cent Liberty Loan Bonds, due Sep- tember 15, 1928.....	250.00
Cash in bank.....	12.50
	<hr/>
Total.....	<u>\$8,262.50</u>

GEORGE S. PEPPER LIBRARY FUND

Interest received from the George S. Pepper Library Trust Fund,
which, under the terms of the bequest, can be used only for the pur-
chase of books.

Balance, October 31, 1923.....	\$119.68
Received from interest on bonds.....	370.63
	<hr/>
Total.....	\$490.31
Expended during the year.....	382.53
	<hr/>
Balance, October 31, 1924.....	<u>\$107.78</u>

BALANCE SHEET

ASSETS

REAL ESTATE.....	\$1,718,947.46	
HOUSEHOLD FURNISHINGS.....	300,616.73	
LIBRARY.....	30,166.50	
AUTO TRUCK.....	392.45	
GEORGE S. PEPPER LIBRARY TRUST FUND INVESTMENTS:		
P. R. R. 4½ per cent General Mortgage Bonds.....	\$8,000.00	
U. S. Third 4¼ per cent Liberty Loan Bonds.....	250.00	
		8,250.00
RESERVE FOR MAINTENANCE AND DEPRECIATION INVESTMENTS:		
U. S. Fourth 4¼ per cent Liberty Loan Bonds (par value, \$23,200.00).....		22,493.56
INVENTORIES:		
Merchandise.....	\$23,658.38	
China, glass, linen, silverware.....	58,397.33	
Barber supplies, billiard ivory, etc....	2,284.74	
Coal.....	1,869.75	
Stationery, cleaning supplies, etc.	3,409.22	
		89,619.42
CASH:		
Income Account.....	\$12,467.52	
Permanent Fund.....	4,555.51	
		17,023.03
MEMBERS' HOUSE CHARGES.....		55,480.69
DEPOSIT FOR PERPETUAL INSURANCE.....		16,967.88
SINKING FUND: Cash deposited for retirement of bonds		231.02
DEFERRED CHARGES:		
Insurance premiums.....	\$7,889.11	
Taxes—prepaid.....	14,773.50	
		22,662.61
TOTAL ASSETS.....	\$2,282,851.35	

October 31, 1924.

OCTOBER 31, 1924**LIABILITIES**

FIRST MORTGAGE SINKING FUND GOLD BONDS.....	\$310,000.00	
GEORGE S. PEPPER LIBRARY TRUST FUND:		
Principal.....	\$8,262.50	
Income Account.....	107.78	
		8,370.28
ACCOUNTS PAYABLE.....		54.70
WAGES ACCRUED BUT NOT DUE.....		380.86
INTEREST ON BONDS ACCRUED.....		2,273.33
RESERVE FOR MAINTENANCE AND DEPRECIATION.....		22,329.67
EXCESS OF ASSETS OVER LIABILITIES:		
Balance, October 31, 1923.....	\$1,892,584.08	
Permanent Fund Receipts.....	44,731.53	
Excess of Income—year ended Octo- ber 31, 1924.....	2,126.90	
		1,939,442.51

TOTAL LIABILITIES.....	<u><u>\$2,282,851.35</u></u>
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JAMES E. MITCHELL,
Treasurer.

AUDITORS' CERTIFICATE

We, the undersigned Auditors, elected by the Board of Directors of The Union League of Philadelphia, in accordance with Section 53 of the By-Laws, hereby certify that we have examined the accounts of the Treasurer for the fiscal year ending October 31, 1924, and have found them correct.

W. HARRY MILLER,
WILLIAM A. POWELL,
JAMES V. ELLISON,

Auditors.

ANNUAL REPORT
of the
HOUSE COMMITTEE

October 31, 1924.

*To the President and Board of Directors of
The Union League of Philadelphia.*

GENTLEMEN:—Your House Committee herewith submits its report for the year ending October 31, 1924.

The usual billiard, pool, cowboy pool, bowling, auction and chess tournaments were held, and at the completion thereof prizes were presented to the winners by The Union League.

The customary holiday decorations were displayed from Christmas to New Year's.

The following Club Nights were held during the year:

Saturday, December 29th.—Honorable Cyrus E. Woods, United States Ambassador to Japan, was to have been the guest of honor, but owing to sudden illness he was compelled to cancel the engagement, too late however to notify the members. It was necessary therefore to arrange an impromptu motion picture entertainment. Approximately five hundred and fifty members and guests were present.

Tuesday, January 15th.—Concert by Fortnightly Club. Approximately seven hundred members and guests were present.

Friday, March 28th.—Address by Major Vivian Gilbert, late of the British Army, in Lincoln Hall, entitled "The Romance of the Last Crusade." Approximately nine hundred members and guests were present.

Friday, April 25th.—The Women's Symphony Orchestra of Philadelphia rendered a concert, inter-

spersed with several acts of vaudeville and selections by a male quartet. Approximately seven hundred and fifty members and guests were present.

The following Ladies' Nights were held:

Tuesday, February 26th.—Four hundred and fifty dinners were served to members, their families and guests in Lincoln Hall, and at the conclusion of the dinner a motion picture, "Pioneer Trails," was shown.

Tuesday, May 20th.—Five hundred and forty dinners were served to members, their families and guests in Lincoln Hall, the Sherman Room and the Card Room. After the dinner an illustrated lecture was delivered by Mr. Frank Branch Riley upon "The Lure of the Great Northwest."

On Saturday afternoon, February 16th, through the courtesy of Mr. Humbert B. Powell, a delegation of Pueblo Indians were the guests of The Union League and gave an entertainment in costume in Lincoln Hall. Mr. John Collier, Executive Secretary of the American Indians' Defense Association, accompanied them and made an address interpreting the various songs and dances and giving a short history of the Pueblo tribes.

Motion Picture entertainments were given each Wednesday evening during July and August.

The regular Saturday afternoon concerts were given from January 5th until April 19th.

Heavy teams driving on the sidewalk on the Sansom Street side of The Union League caused the pavement to break and your Committee was compelled to order a new concrete pavement placed for a distance of one hundred and sixty-seven feet. In order to protect ourselves from a repetition of this occurrence, posts have been placed just inside the curbing ten feet apart for a distance of three hundred feet.

Shortly after this work was finished the City of Philadelphia tore up the pavement on Sansom Street from Broad to Fifteenth Street to install new high pressure water lines. This necessitated the laying of an entire new pavement, which work was done at the expense of the City.

The assessment on The Union League buildings was increased \$250,000 this year, increasing our taxes \$6,700.

On February 15th the main shaft of the ice machine split causing a shutdown of the ice machinery for a period of ten days. While a new shaft was being made the entire machinery was put in first-class condition. The cost of the breakdown was covered by insurance.

A new ventilating system has been installed in the Card Room.

Five new lighting fixtures have been placed in the Library and two new fixtures in the Lounging Room. The new lighting arrangement diffuses the light much better than the old fixtures and affords a considerable saving in the amount of current consumed.

The window screens throughout the house have been rewired and put in first-class condition.

A floor resurfacing machine was purchased for renovating hard wood floors throughout the house. During the summer our employes resurfaced, cleaned and refinished the floors in the Old Café, Restaurant, Card Room, No. 1 and No. 2 Rooms, the corridor on the second floor of the Broad Street Building and the Lounging Room adjoining Library.

New furniture and carpets were purchased for several of the bedrooms.

A new motion picture machine was purchased.

Your Committee makes acknowledgment of the following:

Bronze bust of General George H. Thomas; loaned by Mr. George Thomas Lambert.

On July 29th, James S. Rawlings, in charge of the Billiard and Pool Rooms, passed away after an illness lasting almost one year. Rawlings was first employed by The Union League on November 24, 1872, and served the League faithfully and well for almost fifty-two years.

Your Committee announces that they have engaged Harry P. Cline, a well-known billiard player, to take charge of the Billiard and Pool Rooms of The Union League, beginning November 3d. Your Committee feels this will stimulate interest in billiards and prove a great benefit to the members.

Respectfully submitted on behalf of the House Committee.

WM. R. LYMAN,
Chairman.

ANNUAL REPORT
of the
GUEST COMMITTEE

October 31, 1924.

*To the President and Board of Directors of
The Union League of Philadelphia.*

GENTLEMEN:—Your Guest Committee begs to submit the following report for the fiscal year ending October 31, 1924.

On Friday evening, February 15th, Honorable Simeon D. Fess, United States Senator from Ohio, was the guest of The Union League at dinner which was attended by the former Presidents, Officers, Board of Directors and Committee on Membership. After the dinner Senator Fess delivered an able and brilliant address on "Abraham Lincoln," in Lincoln Hall. Approximately six hundred members and guests were present.

On Tuesday evening, March 4th, Honorable W. Free-land Kendrick, Mayor of Philadelphia, and the members of his Cabinet, were tendered a reception. Prior to the reception the guests of the evening were entertained at dinner, at which were present the former Presidents, Officers, Board of Directors and Committee on Membership. At the conclusion of the dinner the Mayor, Director of Public Safety Smedley D. Butler, Director of Public Works George H. Biles, Director of Public Welfare Charles H. Grakelow and City Solicitor Joseph P. Gaffney delivered short addresses at an enthusiastic meeting in Lincoln Hall. A reception to the Mayor and his entire Cabinet was then held, approximately nine hundred and fifty members and guests being in attendance.

Respectfully submitted on behalf of the Guest Committee.

WILLIAM G. PRICE, JR.
Chairman.

ADDRESS

BY

HONORABLE HENRY J. ALLEN

FORMER GOVERNOR OF KANSAS

THE UNION LEAGUE OF PHILADELPHIA

OCTOBER 13, 1924

**Address of Hon. Henry J. Allen, former Governor of
Kansas, at The Union League Luncheon in Lincoln
Hall, Monday, October 13, 1924, at 12.30 P. M.**

THE PRESIDENT.—Fellow Members of The Union League: Before introducing the speaker of the day, I am going to ask Secretary Beitler to read a telegram from a member of the League who has gone to speak in behalf of the Republican ticket in West Virginia, the former home of the Democratic candidate for President.

THE SECRETARY.—This telegram comes from Benjamin H. Ludlow, who spoke at the last luncheon, and was received by me.

“On the firing line this week in West Virginia. Press on members need of immediate action. The difference between this week and next may spell defeat. Governor Allen visited the League just four years ago with Coolidge and victory followed. History will repeat itself if everyone helps.”

THE PRESIDENT.—Within the sacred precincts of this splendid old organization, the most select and exclusive group of which I have knowledge is the society of former governors. We are fortunate in having with us to-day, as a guest, an honorary member of that society, a distinguished American who is always welcome at The Union League of Philadelphia. [Applause.]

He comes from the great agricultural section in which the battle of this Presidential campaign is being waged with a fierceness which we do not fully appreciate here in rock-ribbed Republican Pennsylvania. He tells me his own State is going to vote right, as it usually does; but I cannot speak with quite as much confidence as to some of his neighboring states.

In Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and certain other

States of the great Middle West, La Follette seems to have gained surprising strength.

Any state which has given to the Republican party a John J. Ingalls and a Henry J. Allen deserves credit for something else worth while than its wheat and its corn. [Applause.]

Governor Allen was born in Pennsylvania, and we are particularly proud of him for the record he has made in his adopted State. He won the confidence and admiration of Republicans and good citizens generally throughout the country for his excellent administration as Governor of that great Commonwealth. I have great pleasure in presenting to you the former Governor of Kansas, Honorable Henry J. Allen. [Applause.]

HONORABLE HENRY J. ALLEN.—

MR. PRESIDENT, AND MEMBERS OF THE UNION LEAGUE, AND FELLOW REPUBLICANS: If I could have been permitted to address but one audience in this campaign, and had been given my choice as to that audience, I would have chosen The Union League of Philadelphia. I would have said: "There is one place I cannot possibly do any damage," and you have added to the happiness of the occasion for me by bringing to this luncheon so many men the contemplation of whose party affiliations and whose public services bring so deep a satisfaction. It provides me with a sense of gratification to be in touch again with former Governor Sproul, to whom I am indebted for many courtesies. I remember the night, just four years ago, when Governor Sproul presided at The Union League meeting and the Vice-President—now the President, and myself provided the discussion. I went away from that meeting sensing the debt of gratitude which ought to prevail always among the Republicans of the nation touching this Union League of Pennsylvania. We never have to worry about you, or about

Pennsylvania, and in addition to that comfortable feeling, you are always of prime importance in providing those sinews of war that make the battle swift and strong.

It is a real privilege to stand here in this Lincoln Hall, dedicated as it is to the first President elected by the Republican Party, and, in many respects, to the first great American; the first who possessed within himself all the strength and all the gentleness, all the grace and all the majesty of the Republic. It is great to come and stand here in this ancient place where, one hundred, thirty-seven years ago, thirteen free and independent nations met to accomplish "a more perfect Union." In this particular campaign, the most vital note touches the effort to amend the contract entered into by those free and independent states; to change the form of government they laid down here and to make of the United States an entirely different form of government whose check and balances will have disappeared in the added powers given to the Parliamentary Branch of the Government. I find here just the vital and easier feeling that ought to exist in this traditional institution against the impious changes urged by the radical forces which drive forward in this campaign. The burden of this year's effort is not to defeat Bob La Follette for President of the United States. He has no opportunity to be President and he knows this as well as anybody. His design is not to secure a majority of votes in the Electoral College. It is to secure a sufficient number of Republican States to rob President Coolidge of a majority of the votes in the Electoral College and thereby create a deadlock which will make it necessary for the election of the President to be taken out of the hands of the people and thrown into Congress.

Four years ago when we met here we pledged ourselves that the situation in the nation would improve with the election of a Republican administration. We do not

have to take a very elaborate survey to-day to realize that the pledge of four years ago has been kept. It has been made good. We pledged a better industrial condition. Five million men out of employment are not out of employment now. We pledged economy, and the running expenses of the Government have been reduced from seven billion dollars, plus, to a point where the budget for 1925 promises to be less than three billion. And we have paid three billion dollars upon the national debt. We have met the other obligations. We have reorganized the business mechanism of the Government; eliminated useless employes to the number of one hundred thousand, and established a budget law which will bless the future generation.

We have this peculiarity in this campaign; that there are four main candidates for the Presidency and only three candidates for the Vice-Presidency. John W. Davis, the estimable gentleman who is the candidate of the Democratic party for the Presidency, in a moment of pompous enthusiasm and hasty judgment, chose Charles W. Bryan to be his running mate, not realizing that almost immediately Charles W. Bryan would become the candidate for President under the plot hatched in the fertile brain of Senator Robert M. La Follette. It didn't take Governor Bryan, who believes in La Follette's radical program, long to conceive the idea that he would be the beneficiary of the deadlock in the Electoral College in case the La Follette plan succeeds. We had Governor Bryan in my town a few nights ago. He spent thirty minutes talking about himself, emphasizing those qualities which he concedes himself to possess which might make him eligible, not to the office of the Vice-Presidency, but to the office of the Presidency. It is the first instance in which I have ever known a candidate for the Vice-Presidency to discuss himself seriously as a Presidential possibility. After thirty minutes expended in laudation

of himself, he spent fifteen minutes lauding Senator La Follette and the radical Senator who is running with him, and only two minutes upon his running mate, John W. Davis. Is it any wonder that Mr. Davis is uncomfortable. He realizes that with the foreshadowing of the La Follette-Bryan issue in the campaign, he will become the most lonesome candidate for the Presidency that has appeared before the American People since the days of Alton B. Parker. We have recently entertained John W. Davis in my State. Everybody there liked him and the State organized a nice reception for him. His addresses were cheered with perfect courtesy; but he didn't excite us. He accused the Republican Party of being the author of the bad luck of the farmer during the past year and then he failed to give the Republican Party the credit for the good luck that has come to the farmer during the past three months. He tried on us, during the few days that he sojourned in Kansas, everything in the ample platform of the Democratic Party and even went outside, bringing in the League of Nations. But none of those things touched our fancy. What John W. Davis needed in Kansas which he did not possess was some program with which he might restore discontent. The difficulty with John W. Davis this year is that he has had no practice in preaching discontent. Therefore he has no facility in it. He has been one of the contented. Indeed I might say he has been one of the privileged, and it was difficult for him to lead a campaign in which an atmosphere of doleful gloom and extreme unhappiness must be dramatized. There is no doubt of the fact that John W. Davis will lose Kansas by a very substantial majority. The only contest out there is whether he or La Follette will occupy third place in the race. In voting for Coolidge in preference to John W. Davis, the State is not expressing a choice between those two individuals. Every Republican out there realizes that a vote for John W. Davis is a

half vote for Robert M. La Follette and that half vote for Robert M. La Follette may be multiplied potentially for Charles W. Bryan if the selection of the President comes finally into the last resort.

This has been the most educational campaign in the history of the United States since 1896. In that campaign the people were educated, from the ground up, concerning the principles of sound money. In the present campaign we are being educated concerning the fundamental principles which give to this nation the check and balances which reside in a government made up of three separate, distinct and coordinate branches. The radical thrust of La Follette has forced the nation, at a dramatic moment, to consider the value of the Constitution; the necessity of supreme care and the danger that comes to us if we dump overboard the chart and compass under which we have sailed for a hundred and thirty-seven years.

Robert M. La Follette entered the race with an expression of mock heroic in the following sentence: "In the most momentous crisis within our time, I enter the contest to wrest the Government from the predatory interests and restore it to the people." Senator La Follette calls this the most momentous crisis of the Government—and he is seventy years old. He is old enough to remember when Fort Sumpter was fired upon. He is old enough to recall the assassination of Abraham Lincoln; and he might still remember, if he wishes, the World War and the unspeakable part he played in that conflict. I am perfectly willing to agree with Senator La Follette in this: That if his present conspiracy to deadlock the Electoral College succeeds and the election is finally forced into the United States Senate where his radical followers might dominate the choice, then it is the most momentous test that has come to this Government. He says he is going to restore the Government to the people. What people?

Does he mean those that now travel in his procession? Does he mean Eugene V. Debs, who has asked that the Socialist Party make no nomination for the Presidency, but keep its red flag flying behind the leadership of Bob La Follette? Does he mean Berger, who yesterday complimented La Follette upon his splendid war record? Does he mean this conglomeration of Socialists, Communists, slackers and miscellaneous radicals of various brands? Is this his idea of making the right of government more secure? Does he believe that in this following there is a need of capacity or of patriotism that rises higher than that which has been sounded in the established order of our present government? Has his leadership brought to Congress a personnel which keeps the confidence of the country? Do we wish to take away from the Supreme Court its power to pass upon the constitutionality of legislation and leave that legislation to such leadership as is expressed by La Follette, Brookhart, Magnus Johnson, Frasier of North Dakota, Shipstead of Minnesota and others who have pledged themselves to the radical movement?

John W. Davis has seen fit to smile with disdain at the fear that La Follette might deadlock the Congress. He insists that the fight is still between himself and Calvin Coolidge. And yet John W. Davis cannot remove the logic of the menace that is in these facts: La Follette claims that he will carry the States of Wisconsin, North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Iowa, Montana, Colorado and Washington. There is a feeling that in some of these States, at least, his strength justifies his expectations. Supposing that he does carry these States—what happens? Will John W. Davis have carried enough States to provide a majority in the Electoral College? No one expects this. All that happens is that either John W. Davis or Calvin Coolidge will have a plurality. Bob La Follette will have the balance of power which will force the choice

into the lower house of Congress, which has a similar deadlock, and the election will then go into the Senate where the man chosen for the Vice-Presidency becomes, under the Constitution, the President. The choice will be limited to Charles G. Dawes and Charles W. Bryan. It requires forty-nine votes to elect. Nominally, the Republicans have forty-nine votes, but to count those forty-nine we must include Robert La Follette, who will not vote for Charles G. Dawes; Senator Brookhart, who has pledged himself against Dawes; Frasier, Shipstead, Johnson, Ladd and Norris, all of whom will follow the leadership of La Follette, and these will vote for Charles W. Bryan. You cannot get rid of this train of reasoning by any mocking words or by scoffing at idle fears. The grim possibility is there and the only way to meet it is for Americans who believe in the fundamentals of our Government to make sure that the deadlock shall not occur and they can only make sure by casting their votes in these doubtful states for Coolidge. This is something more than Senator La Follette's effort to organize a third party. The design is deeper than that. Every man who observes this campaign now has observed that the La Follette third party is a bedlam and the one foremost thought of this bedlam is to deadlock the Electoral College.

I think I have consumed my time without having discussed the splendid candidate of the Republican Party—Calvin Coolidge. There isn't a man in this potential organization who has not made up his mind as to the qualities of Calvin Coolidge. The Democratic candidate for the Presidency has made a few illnatured remarks about the disposition of our President not to talk. For my part it is a great relief to find a man at the White House who does more thinking and acting than talking. I have noticed he speaks well enough when there is something to be said. He has the strong New England sense

of self-preservation but he does the thing the occasion calls for. Contemplate the calmness with which he vetoed the Bursum bill and the bonus bill. He has the same heart toward these men who served their country as all of us have. He is just as anxious to be of service to them as are any of us, but he had promised a record of economy. He had promised that the Government should spend less money and thereby reduce taxes. He is no wizard, as is McAdoo who at one time promised to lower our freight rates and at the same time promised larger wages for the railroad men. Calvin Coolidge couldn't do that. He realized that if taxes were to be lowered, less money must be expended, and when he vetoed these bills he did it because he had formerly promised economy. There is this realization which comes to us out of every action he takes and that is in everything he does and everything he says, Calvin Coolidge is going to keep the self-respect of Calvin Coolidge.

A few days ago Senator Wheeler, candidate for Vice-President on the La Follette ticket, asked, with much heat, what the United States has contributed during the last six years to the international relationship. Well, we have contributed everything that has been contributed and we have subtracted nothing. We have given of our means to every necessitous condition in Europe and in the Near East. Out of generous American hearts we have expended more than one hundred million dollars for those who suffered in the aftermath of the World War, and we stand by to give more if necessity requires. We have also pledged, as a party and as a nation, that we will enter the International Court of Justice under the leadership of Calvin Coolidge. We have done more than that. In the last three months, after the utter failure of the League of Nations, during its six years of effort to provide a solution of the trouble, we have contributed an American statesman, Charles G. Dawes, who, in three months, has

accomplished more towards the restoration of workable conditions than all the other influences during the period.

When we contemplate the thing; all that has been accomplished during the past four years, and the peculiar need there is for a continuation of a sane, constructive program, we find ourselves in hearty agreement with the statement of the President that the greatest issue in this campaign is common sense.

THE PRESIDENT.—We are under very great obligations for the illuminating address of Governor Allen.

ADDRESS

BY

HONORABLE DAVID A. REED

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM PENNSYLVANIA

THE UNION LEAGUE OF PHILADELPHIA

OCTOBER 21, 1924

**Address of Hon. David A. Reed, United States Senator
from Pennsylvania, delivered at a Luncheon held
in The Union League on Tuesday, October 21, 1924,
at 12.30 P. M.**

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen of The Union League: This traditionally great organization of ours is signally favored to-day; in addition to the speaker of the day we have as our guests two other distinguished gentlemen, Hon. W. Harry Baker, Chairman of the Republican State Committee [applause], and General Nelson A. Miles, Commander of the Loyal Legion of the United States. [Applause.] We wish to extend to them a hearty welcome, and to say to them that we cannot see them too often in The Union League.

The Republican Campaign Committee is desirous of securing the very best possible support for the national ticket and the part that The Union League is trying to play in this campaign. We think there is very great danger of being misled by common report. For instance, I picked up on my desk this morning a news-sheet which is sent out twice a week from Washington, and I read as follows: "Elections. Coolidge victory at polls is now predicted by two-thirds of the non-partisan and capable observers whose confidential reports are now reaching us through various channels. They do not believe election will go into the House and Senate with strong support for Davis. Democrats here now definitely trying to accomplish this. Republican headquarters confident, but guarding against late break."

We often hear the observation from Republican leaders that bankers and business men are so strongly committed to Coolidge, and their associations are so limited to their own class, that they underestimate the opposition. Gentlemen, I think it is very easy to underestimate the opposition. We are now reaching a very vital part of this campaign, the last two weeks, and I am confident

that we shall leave no stone unturned to do everything possible for the success of Coolidge and Dawes. [Applause.]

I am sure I speak your minds when I speak mine in saying that during the travail and turmoil of this last session of Congress, it was a source of great satisfaction to know that Pennsylvania had in the United States Senate two men who stood strong as the Rock of Gibraltar back of the President and for Republican principles. [Applause.] One of these men is the distinguished speaker of the afternoon, and I have great pleasure in introducing our junior Senator from Pennsylvania, our own fellow member, Hon. David A. Reed of Pittsburgh. [Applause.]

SENATOR DAVID A. REED.—Mr. President and Fellow Members of The Union League: I see you have provided not only a time limit for me but a platform as well, so that I am reasonably safe in both directions. In coming here to the very fountainhead of Republicanism I feel that we are all in accord on the issues in this campaign, and that nothing could be more inappropriate than for me to make the usual campaign exhortation. I have spoken mostly west of the mountains until the present time, although my schedule seems to lie in the East from now on; and I want to echo what Mr. Passmore has so well said in a warning against over-confidence.

I find that through the industrial parts of the State, particularly around my own home town, Pittsburgh, a great deal of missionary work has been done by the La Follette people. Their roster reads like the program of a troupe of Russian dancers, but they have been working very hard. A number of the men who were active in the Communist movement which culminated in our strikes out there three years ago are at the head and front of the La Follette movement now, and whatever we may think of their sentiments or their patriotism or their philosophy,

we have to hand it to them for their readiness and their ability to work. The only way that we can meet this is by working as hard as they do.

Given the proper amount of work, I do not think that Mr. Coolidge is in any danger; I believe that if we work—and always that “if” is present—Coolidge and Dawes will be elected by the Electoral College; but nobody is going to be elected without a backing that is in earnest. We all feel in earnest; it is only left to us to act in earnest.

In one way this campaign is a very peculiar one. The opposition has introduced no great national issue. The Democratic party, standing as it has for States' rights for decades, finds that policy flaunted and practically taken from it by the eight years of the Wilson administration, which did more to destroy States' rights than any administration that we ever saw at the head of our Government. Their other policy of a low tariff, a tariff for revenue only, has disappeared with the war. We all know that; it is A, B, C, to those of us who are interested in business; and it is amusing to watch our Democratic adversaries trying to wriggle around that unescapable fact. They talk about the unfairness of the Republican tariff, yet in the same breath admit that a tariff equal to the wage differential is absolutely vital. They do not mention the fact that our tariff of 1922 is frankly based on the wage differential and nothing else, and has a sliding scale provision that keeps it there and forbids it being made higher or lower. So they have no great national issue, and as a result we find a campaign in which most of their steam is spent in slinging mud, with careful omission to mention Mr. Doheney and Mr. McAdoo [applause], and a similar careful omission of the fact that it was Mr. Harding who dispensed with the services of Forbes and Fall, the only two men who were found actually in wrongdoing, that Mr. Coolidge has not found any appointee faithless to his trust, and that no officeholder inherited by Coolidge has

proven faithless to his trust. Those facts are worth mentioning, but of course our adversaries do not mention them.

The La Follette people, on the other hand, talk a lot about their modification of the Constitution so as to correct the irregularities of the Supreme Court. Congress, which they spare no words in denouncing, is to have the power by a majority of one to override any decision, even a unanimous one, of the United States Supreme Court. They do not mean that, of course; it would be like leaving the decision of the umpire to the bleachers if the bleachers did not happen to be satisfied with the umpire's decision. Of course, they do not mean that, and it is an interesting thing to see that there is no real feeling among the La Follette adherents for that plank. They talk about it a lot, but there isn't one man in ten thousand of those who are adherents of the La Follette group who really cares a hoot one way or the other about that plank in their platform. Government ownership of railroads interests them very much, particularly those of them who work for the railroads, and who think they see another succession of wage increases every few months under Government control. But I do not believe that the common sense of the American people, outside of that very small group, is going to stand for another orgy such as we saw during the time of the war.

Now, while I think that Mr. Coolidge and Mr. Dawes are safe, given that work by their supporters, Congress is not safe, and it is a long ways from safe. If we work, we are going to gain a Senator in Massachusetts, in Kentucky, in Oklahoma, in Colorado and in New Mexico; that is five. We have a fine fighting chance in Tennessee and in Montana. Just picture to yourselves, my friends, what a different Senate that would be if we could make a gain of those seven Republican Senatorships. Instead of a chaotic, leaderless, aimless, trouble-making body such

as we have all seen during the last session, we would have some teamwork, some consistent support of the President, rather than the stalemate that we have been witnessing during the last six months' session. We would have a chance to do things instead of the deadlock that has frustrated everything that President Coolidge has tried to accomplish. There are seven places in which we may gain seats, which will give us a majority in the Senate of real Republicans. Surely, that is worth the effort.

Then, too, in the lower House, we have a fine chance to elect thirty-six Pennsylvania Republicans, a fine chance [applause]; but that again means work. Some of the best men in our delegation have hard fights on their hands at this minute. It is going to take support from all of us who believe in Coolidge and the things he stands for, and who believe in our party and the things it stands for. It is going to take work by all of us to put those thirty-six across, but it can be done, and it is up to us, and to The Union League as the fountainhead of it all to get busy and do it.

In the last session we saw a good many Congressmen and Senators who were independent for the mere sake of independence, who were original for the sake of originality, who thought that there was some merit in jumping the fence and getting off the reservation, regardless of the worth of the issue that was involved. Those people made holy fools of themselves, as we all remember, and when they came back home, a great many of them got a rebuke from their constituents that they are not likely to forget; and I prophesy—this is not only Pennsylvania I am talking about; it is the whole country over—I prophesy that a Republican majority in the coming Congress is going to have a lot more party spirit and sense of organization than was shown in the exhibition of the past winter. That is why, if we in Pennsylvania can send down thirty-six Republicans, we can be much more sure than we were

before that they are going to act like Republicans when they get there.

There are some hopeless spots in this election. For example, Mr. Brookhart has the Republican nomination for the Senatorship in Iowa; Mr. Couzens has it in Michigan; Mr. Norris has it in Nebraska. What will happen there, I do not know, but I am not particularly encouraged at the outlook. On the other hand, in Minnesota, advices seem to be that Magnus Johnson is not likely to be re-elected. [Applause.]

I am trying to make a perfectly candid statement of the situation so that we can size up what practically can be done. Now, how is it going to be done? May I give you an illustration from our experience in Pittsburgh? In 1922, in an election in which there were to be chosen two United States Senators and a Governor from Pennsylvania, after a campaign of considerable vigor, there were eighty thousand registrations in the City of Pittsburgh. The highest number of votes cast for any office, including the Republicans, Democrats and all other parties, was sixty-seven thousand. Thirteen thousand of the eighty-odd thousand who took the trouble to register did not take the trouble to vote, and if it had been a rainy day, there would have been twenty-six thousand absentees instead of thirteen thousand. That number would determine many an election. For example, in that same election we Republicans lost a Senatorship from Washington County by one vote. Down in Delaware here, a Democratic United States Senator was elected by a plurality of ninety-three votes. It is getting out that inert, stay-at-home vote that is already registered even, that makes all the difference in the world; and that can be done in only one way, and that is to pull their doorbells and ring their telephones, to spend the time on it, to carry them to the polls, and provide the buggy or the Ford to take them. And that cannot be

done without money. In this State of ours alone, there are over eight thousand election districts. You can see immediately where that money goes, as if into a bottomless hole, and yet unless it is spent that last decisive group of voters will not come out. And you cannot expect men to give up their day's work and spend the day doing that out of pure patriotism, because their children keep on getting hungry, and their shoes wear out on that day just as on other days. The men and women who do that work must be paid for it, and it is up to those of us who feel in our hearts the importance of this election and who can give, to provide the wherewithal with which to do it.

Mr. La Follette calls that a slush fund, and he sings long and loud about the slush fund of our party. Now, anything is a slush fund that the other fellow collects for an election. That is the definition, and I notice that Mr. La Follette's own angel in Chicago has contributed a larger sum than any individual has contributed to the Republican fund or to the Democratic fund, and he would no doubt be very glad to have a lot more angels do the same thing. That argument about the slush fund, I believe, comes for two reasons: In the first place, he wants to terrify the man who has the inclination to give to the fund of his adversaries, and, in the next place, I think he wants to keep Senator Borah off the stump, so he puts him down in Washington holding that investigation. That is the sort of thing that Alton Parker talked of, that Bryan talked of, that every expecting loser is going to talk of in all the campaigns in the future; and it is not worth even as much attention as I have given it in these brief remarks.

Now, my friends, in spite of the fact that our adversaries have no clear-cut issue, there has never been a time when it meant so much to all of us to have the Government's attitude correct toward the industry of the

nation. We must all realize just what is going to happen to American industry if the wall that separates us from European products is once let down. There surely never was a time when the tariff that we Republicans stand for was so vital to the prosperity of every home in America. We know that, every one of us knows that; we must make the other people know it, and we must show them that it is important to them and their wives and their children to come out and vote on election day. And we must go further, and provide the means for them to come out. Now, I do not mean to make this too much of a commercial exhortation, but after all, it does come down to that. It is vital, and now is the time. Do not be misled by these betting odds that you see reported in the newspapers. I can't understand how any man would be willing to risk his money on the long odds that we see mentioned in the newspapers; I do not believe he would if he could have the experience that some of us have had out west of here. The only way we can meet it is by work. The Union League has always come up to the mark in times before, The Union League realizes the danger now, and I know that it will come forward. I thank you very much. [Loud and prolonged applause.]

FORMER GOVERNOR STUART.—I move that a vote of thanks of The Union League of Philadelphia be tendered to Senator Reed for the address given here. [Motion seconded.]

THE PRESIDENT.—You have heard Governor Stuart's motion that a vote of thanks of The Union League be extended to Senator Reed, one of our own members, for his very illuminating address. Will all of you in favor of that motion give your assent by rising? It is unanimous, Senator Reed. The meeting is now adjourned.

ADDRESS

BY

HONORABLE HARLAN F. STONE

ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES

THE UNION LEAGUE OF PHILADELPHIA

OCTOBER 29, 1924

Address of Hon. Harlan F. Stone, Attorney General of
the United States, delivered at a Luncheon held
in The Union League on Wednesday, October 29,
1924, at 12.30 P. M.

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, the meeting will please come to order. Before proceeding with the speaking program, I would like to make the announcement that the election returns will be broadcasted from The Union League on election night, November 4th, through the courtesy of Gimbel Brothers, Station WIP [Applause.] By this arrangement those members of the League who are unable to come to this room where the returns will be received, tabulated and announced that evening, can keep in close touch with the returns as they come in by means of radio.

I have a brief letter which I would like to read as of interest to you gentlemen; it is addressed to the Chairman of the National Campaign Committee of The Union League of Philadelphia:

“CHICAGO, October 27, 1924.

Your letter of October 24th is received. Please accept my hearty thanks for the check enclosed therein, which you send as a further contribution from the members of The Union League of Philadelphia. Your co-operation is most deeply appreciated.

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM M. BUTLER,
Chairman.

[Applause.]

Gentlemen of The Union League, in these closing days of a campaign which has been exceedingly novel and unusual, it seems to me that there remains little to be done but to clinch the victory which indications point as likely to be the result on November 4th. In order to do that, let every member of this organization do his duty to the end, and on November 4th see that his own ballot

is cast as well as that of every other man and woman with whom he has influence; the important thing is that you vote.

I have had a little inside information from a member of his Cabinet, which I see also reflected in the morning papers, to the effect that President Coolidge has not yet made any arrangements for moving next spring. [Applause.]

The League is exceedingly fortunate in having here to-day a very distinguished member of the President's official family, a man whom his friends who know him best consider at least the peer of any of the great men who have preceded him in the very high and responsible office he holds in this administration. It has seemed to the Committee fitting that Philadelphia's most distinguished barrister should be invited here to-day to present the Attorney General of the United States to this audience. [Applause.] It therefore gives me very great satisfaction to present to you, in order that he may introduce the Attorney General, a man who needs no introduction here, our own Philadelphian, friend and neighbor, the senior Senator from Pennsylvania, Hon. George Wharton Pepper. [Applause.]

SENATOR GEORGE WHARTON PEPPER.—Mr. President and Gentlemen: I returned to Philadelphia but a few hours ago, after campaigning in many and widely scattered States. The experience might have been exhausting if I had been engaged in the championship of a lost cause; as it was, it was exhilarating and refreshing, because the hope of a month ago has been replaced by the assurance of to-day. [Applause.] I take it that to-day, with respect to the Presidential election, there is nothing doubtful except the size of the Coolidge majority. [Applause.]

I was glad to hasten homeward in order that I might unite with you in paying a tribute of respect to our very distinguished guest. It is a great thing to have among

us so worthy a representative of the Department of Justice. Justice, as Webster observed, is the greatest interest of man on earth; you will recall that when our forefathers ordained the Constitution of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, that the first objective which they specified was the establishment of justice. And as justice is greater than treasure, or war, or navy, or commerce, or agriculture or any other human interest, so the Department of Justice should stand pre-eminent among the executive departments of government; and we have with us to-day a man who, by force of character and adequacy of equipment, is giving to the Department the pre-eminence which it should enjoy. I esteem it a very great honor to be bound to him by many ties. We are members of the same great profession; for twenty-one happy years of my life I was a teacher of law in fields where his educational genius made him pre-eminent. In Washington, my personal contacts with him have been to me delightful, and my official contacts have served to increase an admiration and respect which was already very great. It is no weakness if he must confess just now that he is incapable of interpreting the mind of Congress on a question which has been put to him. I do not lay it to his discredit that he is frankly puzzled by simultaneous declarations of the Democratic and radical coalition to the effect that income tax returns should be made public, but that the act of publication should constitute a crime. [Laughter.]

Gentlemen of The Union League, our guest to-day is one whose name is an index to his character; he is one of those rock men who has been happily built into the structure of the Republic, giving strength and stability to the whole. With a deep sense of the honor he has conferred upon us by accepting the invitation that you have tendered him, and in grateful appreciation of the honor conferred upon me in permitting me to occupy this stand

even for these brief moments, I now introduce to you a great Attorney General of the United States, the Hon. Harlan F. Stone. [Applause.]

ATTORNEY GENERAL HARLAN F. STONE.—Mr. Chairman, Senator Pepper and Members of The Union League: There appears to be a wide-spread public impression that Attorneys General qualify for their offices as do the barristers of England, by eating a certain number of meals. There is, however, this distinction: An Attorney General apparently is expected to garnish every meal with some kind of speech, and certain it is that if I were not able to resist the temptation to accept all the invitations to speak which are tendered me, I should be making at least one speech every hour in the working day, and I am not keeping union hours. But this is one of the temptations which I could not resist; I am greatly honored by the invitation to come here and to say a few words toward the close of this campaign to The Union League, with all its fine history and traditions; and I am honored, of course, far beyond my deserts by the very generous words of Senator Pepper. At any rate, he expressed what might be with me a pious hope, although, of course, it is not anything in the realm of reality.

As every great political campaign progresses to its conclusion, the distinction between the true issues and the false becomes apparent to all thoughtful citizens. To that rule this campaign has proved no exception.

It has now become apparent what are the true issues presented by the great political debate which has been going on for the past two months, and that our opponents have tendered to us false issues. They have had a great deal to say about the Department of Justice, at least about its past, but very little to say about its present or its future. They have had a great deal to say about common honesty in government, but very little to say

about the capacity of President Coolidge, judged in the light of his experience and his long and eminent public service, to give us an honest and capable administration of the Government. Those issues which they have been prone to discuss are false issues, and presently I shall have something to say about them and to indicate why I think they are false.

It has become evident that the real issues are those about which our opponents have had relatively little to say, and for the moment I propose to refer briefly to those issues which are after all the real issues in the campaign.

Of first importance is the issue to be settled at the polls whether the people of the United States are to elect Calvin Coolidge President or whether the election is to be controlled by the action of a minority party. The position of the Democratic Party is wholly negative, without the revivifying influence of a single constructive proposal. Its campaign of denunciation has run its course and it now approaches its logical end in defeat at the polls.

The Third Party can have no expectation of electing its candidates by popular vote. Its nominees, appealing to the voters to perpetuate the rule of the people, have no hope of election at the hands of the people. Their hopes are fixed upon the triumph of a minority, upon throwing the election into Congress; upon the failure of an election to the Presidency in the House of Representatives, and the election, by the domination of minority control, of Mr. Bryan to the Vice-Presidency of the United States, thus qualifying him for the Presidency.

The situation thus presented to the voters of the country is most serious. It is serious because any proposal in the name of popular rule to seize the powers of government by a minority is a dangerous enterprise. It is serious because its successful accomplishment will

bring grave economic disturbances, with disastrous consequences to the commerce and industry of the country, to the farmer, the wage earner and the business man.

Economy in government is one of the real issues of this campaign. The burdens of taxation weigh on every member of the community. Only those who are in the infancy of their economic thinking believe that the burden of taxation can be placed on the shoulders of the rich and be made to remain there. Capital in this country not invested in tax-exempt securities is, for the most part, invested in productive enterprise. Taxes imposed on productive enterprise are absorbed in the cost of its product, passed on to the consumer and find expression in the high cost of living, which reaches alike the rich and the poor. It is the first concern of every just government to reduce the burdens of taxation; and to the credit of President Coolidge and his administration be it said that they have stood firmly for the reduction of taxation, and they have steadily and persistently cut down the cost of government. This has been made possible through the establishment of a scientific budget system which controls appropriations, sets a check upon governmental extravagance and shapes public expenditures within the limits of public revenues. The establishment of that system is one of the most important achievements in the history of our government. And it is a Republican achievement brought about under the direction of Brigadier General Dawes, the candidate for Vice-President, and continued under the able leadership of Brigadier General Lord, now Budget Director. It is in the interests of the country that he be kept in his present position. Under that system the annual cost of government has been reduced more than two billions of dollars. This means an actual saving in the burdens of taxation to the people of the United States of more than six millions of dollars a day. The public debt during the same period

has been reduced by the sum of two billion seven hundred fifty million dollars. Nothing is more vital to the future prosperity and happiness of our people than that the great task of reducing the expense of government and reducing the burdens of taxation be supported and continued.

The fantastic theories of government and economics presented by the platform of the Third Party present real issues in this campaign. The proposal for a federal initiative and referendum extended to one hundred and ten millions of people scattered through a vast territory is a departure from our principles of representative government, and could never be put into operation without a turmoil and political disturbance which would reduce the processes of government to a farce.

The proposal for government ownership of railways, with a public expenditure of forty billions of dollars of capital investment, with its two million seven thousand employees converted into government place-holders, with its abandonment of six hundred million dollars of taxes now annually paid by these enterprises, presents a program of alarming possibilities. The interest on such a capital investment, the loss of revenue from taxation, the requirements of additions to capital amounting to two billions annually, could be met only by increasing the burden of taxation. This proposal and the proposal to revise railroad rates at a time when railroads are earning less than four per cent on their capital investment as determined by the Interstate Commerce Commission, necessarily involving either the reduction of wages of railroad workers or the imposition of new taxes, are proposals serious and far reaching in their consequences.

But more remarkable and more serious than all others is the proposal for the amendment of our Constitution. Despite the camouflage with which this proposal has been draped in the platform of the Third Party and in Mr.

La Follette's speeches, the bald fact is that it is a proposal for the abandonment of our Constitutional system. By it Congress is authorized to pass any legislation and to make it the final and supreme law of the land, if the Supreme Court has held that such legislation is unconstitutional.

It is a clever device for making Congress supreme, not only over the Judicial and Executive branches of the Federal Government, but supreme over the States. It is only necessary for Congress to pass an act twice to withdraw any of their reserved powers from the States. It is only necessary for Congress to pass an act twice to deprive the Executive, the President of the United States, of his constitutional powers and, perhaps most extraordinary of all, it is only necessary for Congress to pass an act twice to deprive citizens of the United States of their constitutional rights, reserved both against the State and National Government, which constitute the whole field of civil liberty. That such a proposal should be made after one hundred and thirty-five years of successful operation of our Federal Constitution is indeed a portentous fact. No one supposes for a moment that a proposal to abolish the Constitution, frankly presented to the people and frankly discussed, would receive serious consideration. But a proposal to amend the Constitution and, under the guise of an amendment, to authorize the abolition of all constitutional principles is dangerous because its real purpose is concealed. Washington warned of the danger of undermining constitutional principles piecemeal, and there is a very real danger that this proposal may gain substantial headway if it is not seriously discussed and its real significance presented to the people.

And finally, there is the issue whether we shall elect as President of the United States that courageous, clear-thinking, clean-living man, Calvin Coolidge.

I shall now introduce a novel element into the campaign by saying something about the present and possibly also the future of the Department of Justice.

It is now a bare six months since quite unexpectedly I found myself in a position of responsibility with respect to what is undoubtedly the greatest law office in the world. I think the functions of that office are not very well understood by the public. I am made aware of that when, on occasion, letters come to my desk demanding why the Attorney General does not take proceedings to recover the writer's property or otherwise protect his private rights. I was reminded of it when I received letters demanding that I prosecute a prominent citizen for treason because of his publicly avowed dislike for the Volstead Act. I am made aware of it when almost daily in the newspapers I see published statements indicating that it is the duty of the Attorney General to investigate violations of the Volstead Act, whereas in fact the Attorney General has no appropriations for that purpose.

It is of course well known that the Attorney General is the legal adviser of the President and of the heads of the great departments; that his opinions until modified or set aside by Congress are controlling on all the agencies of the Government; that he makes recommendations to the President with respect to appointments to judicial offices, and appointments of United States Attorneys; that he designates all assistants to United States Attorneys, and on him rests the responsibility for organizing this army of officials into a zealous and efficient body of public servants.

It is perhaps not so well understood that the Department of Justice is a great litigating office. I suppose most of my hearers would be surprised to know that during the last fiscal year, which ended June 30th last, at a time when it was said in some quarters that the Department of Justice was not functioning, there were

disposed of in that department eighty-eight thousand five hundred litigations in which the United States was plaintiff or defendant. More than seventy-three thousand five hundred of these were criminal cases, and the remainder were cases involving vast amounts in money and property to the Government of the United States. During the present administration something like five hundred cases have been disposed of in the Supreme Court by the office of the Solicitor General, a department in the Attorney General's Office. Nearly one-third of the docket of the Supreme Court is made up of cases in which the United States is a party or interested, and two-thirds of these during the present administration have been won by the United States. These statistics and many more which I might quote to you, but I forbear, all indicate that there has been an enormous expansion in the activities of the Department of Justice. To be approximately correct with respect to the work of that office, it has quadrupled in volume in about ten years last past, whereas its personnel and the annual appropriation, now nearly twenty-three millions of dollars, have only been doubled, a situation which you will at once apprehend must throw a great burden and strain upon the personnel and organization of any great administrative office.

This record means of course not only that we have been increasing in population, developing and expanding in industry and in commerce and thus increasing the legal business of the United States, but it means that in Federal legislation we have been expanding into new fields enormously productive of litigation, both civil and criminal. The time was, within the recollection of most of us, when the chief legal business of the Federal Government related to the collection of its revenues and custom duties, the prosecution of criminal violations of the law for the protection of government property, and for violations of the revenue and postal laws. Beginning with

the passage of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law in 1890, Congress has passed a series of acts for the prevention of monopoly, restraints on trade, unfair competition and unfair trade practices affecting interstate commerce. They have passed a series of acts regulating and controlling common carriers and other instrumentalities engaged in interstate commerce.

One of the subjects of frequent political controversy affecting the Department of Justice is the enforcement of the Sherman law. I am aware that there are widely different views of the value and wisdom of that law. Those, however, are considerations with which the Attorney General is not concerned. The law is on the statute books of the United States; it therefore becomes his duty reasonably and vigilantly to enforce it. I think that has been, in fact, the attitude of most Attorneys General, regardless of their party affiliations. It is interesting to note, however, that the record of these cases during the present administration shows substantially greater performance than during the preceding administration or administrations, making allowance for the fact that the Wilson administration extended over a period of eight years. During the present administration approximately five hundred thousand dollars in fines have been imposed for the violation of this Act and numerous prison sentences have been secured. Suits have been brought, many concluded and others are still pending, affecting combinations in basic industries, dealing in lumber, building materials, binding twine, petroleum, gasoline, farm implements, cement, steel, malleable castings and numerous other commodities. An important step taken during the present year was the establishment of a conference of the Attorney General with the Attorneys General of the several States having in charge the enforcement of anti-monopoly laws.

The enactment of the National Prohibition Law threw

suddenly upon the Federal Courts a vast burden. The position taken by President Coolidge on this important subject, at a time when it had a delicate political significance, indicates the position of the Government and of the Department of Justice. He said, "Our country adopted prohibition and provided for legislation for its enforcement. It is the duty of the citizen to observe the law and the duty of the executive to enforce it. I propose to do my duty." [Applause.] That is the platform on which the Department of Justice stands with respect to this important matter. The enactment of this law has increased the business of the Federal Courts more than fifty per cent. More than five million dollars in fines were collected during the past fiscal year as a result of prosecutions in the Federal Courts, and more than seven thousand years of imprisonment have been imposed by the Federal Courts during the present administration for violations of this law. It has not been the policy of the Department to prosecute petty violations where there is a local enforcement law. It is the conception of the Department that where there is a local law which is being enforced the Federal authorities should devote themselves to the large violations through conspiracies to introduce large quantities of illegal liquor into particular districts. This is a kind of offense with which the Federal Courts can deal more adequately, since it usually crosses State lines, and the result of such prosecutions is more effective in suppressing the unlawful traffic than the prosecution of petty violators who can be prosecuted under the State law. Important prosecutions of this type have been made during the past year in Ohio, in Kentucky, in Texas, in Georgia, in Pennsylvania, in Michigan, in Massachusetts, and in other States. It has been my own practice in dealing with this question, where law enforcement conditions were not satisfactory, to call the United States Attorney for a conference, to go over the situation

with him thoroughly and insist upon more active and vigorous prosecutions. Often these conferences are of great value in making the United States Attorney realize that he has the full force of the Department of Justice behind him and that he need feel under no obligation nor pay any attention to local political influences. Where this procedure does not have the desired result, the Department of Justice is still functioning and is finding ways to deal with the situation.

The enforcement of these laws to which I have referred constitutes the normal work of the Department. If anything, its volume will increase year by year. Added to this, however, has come the settlement of the great volume of legal questions which are the aftermath of the war. In 1922 Congress adopted the policy of re-examining the scores of thousands of war-time contracts under which settlements had been made or moneys paid. Oftentimes moneys had been improperly paid by mistake and again, the payments were frauds upon the Government. There are now pending some two hundred civil cases of this character and some thirty-five indictments have been found. Seven hundred other cases are pending awaiting examination. More than six million dollars has been recovered to the Government as a result of this activity, and there are now pending in the Department compromise offers aggregating two and one-half million dollars.

Our war activities have also resulted in the prosecution of vast claims against the Government which are now pending in the Court of Claims. Last year there were disposed of in that Court cases in which claimants sought the recovery from the Government of three hundred and nine millions of dollars, but in which they obtained judgments aggregating only four millions. There are now pending in that Court some twenty-three hundred cases in which the claims amount to approximately one billion six hundred million dollars.

As a result of these legal problems growing out of the war, the pressure on the Department of Justice at the present time is about like that on the other departments during the actual prosecution of the war. We have just now reached the peak of the load and as we reach it in what is perhaps the most difficult period of the history of the department, it has become the storm center of American politics.

That fact would be one to be regretted if it were a permanent condition. But it is not permanent and it is reassuring to know that the American people have a deep interest and concern in the administration of justice by the Federal Government, and that its administration should be above and beyond reproach. That sentiment and the free manifestation of it are far more important to the administration of justice in this country than the appointment of any particular individual to the office of Attorney General.

If eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, love of justice, devotion to its principles and faith in and respect for its institutions are the tributes which we must pay if we would keep the springs of justice pure and undefiled.

What are the principles which must guide the administration of a department dealing with this vast mass of legal business for the Government? Despite the complexity and the difficulty of that undertaking the principles applicable to it are, I believe, comparatively simple and easily understood, although it is not so easy to adhere to them. Ours is a government organized and perpetuated on the basis of a few principles, simple and easily understood, but it is also easy to depart from them. It is so easy to forget them that it is always incumbent upon us to avail of every occasion to bring them back to mind and to restate them.

One of the most remarkable of American State papers was the Virginia Declaration of Rights, for, although it

antedated the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, we find embraced within it, in language more precise and accurate than the rhetoric of the Declaration of Independence, the fundamental political philosophy which was represented by both the Declaration and the Constitution. The concluding article of the Virginia Bill of Rights contains a single noble sentence which has always seemed to me to be a complete embodiment of the fundamental principles which must guide the administration of government, as well as of a great administrative department of the government. That article reads as follows: "That no free government can be preserved but by a firm adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, frugality and virtue and by frequent recurrence to fundamental principles."

It is this last sentence which especially interests me at this time. What is so needed in the present day in government, in politics, in administration and in law as a frequent recurrence to first principles? And if I mistake not the temper of the American people, they are now well on the road to a recurrence to fundamental principles which will find expression in the overwhelming election of Coolidge and Dawes, President and Vice-President of the United States, when the ballots are counted on November 4th. [Applause.]

But what are the fundamental principles which must control the administration of the Department of Justice? They are so obvious, so simple, that they will, I am sure, at once win your assent; and yet the fact that they are simple and obvious does not take away the necessity of restating them, for it is through frequent recurrence to fundamental principles that free government and the due administration of it are preserved.

First, let it be said that the Department of Justice exists for the purpose of securing the due and orderly administration of the laws of the United States. By that

is meant all the laws, not some favored law, but all laws enforced without fear or favor, without discrimination as to the particular law to be enforced, without discrimination as to the person to be affected by its enforcement. If you ask me whether I favor this law or that law, or whether the one is as worthy of being enforced as the other, I answer very frankly I do not consider that to be the concern of the Attorney General. Those are considerations to be addressed to Congress, to guide it in determining what laws it shall enact and what penalty it shall fix for their violation, but not to the law enforcement officer to determine what laws he shall enforce. If violation of the Federal law occurs, and there is a reasonable probability that prosecution will succeed, then it is his duty to act without fear, without favor and without oppression to secure its enforcement. This is the great lesson to be learned by public officials and by private citizens, for, until we learn it and profit by it, we cannot hope that our waning respect for law will be strengthened or the administration of justice improved. And yet there is not, in my opinion, anything more vital to the well being and national strength of this Republic than respect for law and obedience to it.

I am trying to give to the Department of Justice an honest and straightforward administration. When the President requested me to accept the position which I now hold, and I asked him for any suggestions as to the conduct of my office, he had only this to say—he is as economical with words as he is with public funds—“I want the law enforced.” And in substance he said, “I want you to conduct your office as you would your own private law office, but with the public for a client.” That means good government, that the Department of Justice will be administered in the public interest without regard to private influence or public clamor. If you are told that it is being otherwise administered, you are told what is not true. So long as I remain in the office, that

is the kind of administration I propose to give. [Applause.] And even if I do not remain, that is the kind of administration which you may expect as long as President Coolidge remains at the head of public affairs. [Applause.]

And there is a second principle which must guide the due enforcement of law and one of like importance. The agents of the government and law enforcement are themselves subject to and amenable to its laws. Lawful ends must be sought by lawful means in law enforcement, as well as in any other human enterprise, and in law enforcement the end does not justify unlawful or oppressive means. No lapse in the administration of our laws will more speedily destroy the rights and immunities of citizens or bring our system of administering justice itself into public contempt than the failure of the agents of the Government to keep within the limits of a lawful and constitutional procedure, and none will entail such cruel and irremediable injustices to private citizens. It is therefore peculiarly the duty of the head of a Department of Justice, as it is indeed the duty of the head of every other great department of the Government, to keep a firm hand on its own administrative procedure, to the end that those whose primary duty it is to uphold our system of justice and the administration of our laws, shall not permit its very structure to fall for want of that support.

And, finally, our system reposes in the courts the authority, the duty and the capacity to declare what the law is, to determine the rights of litigants, to determine the guilt or innocence of those charged with crime. It is not for the Attorney General, it is not for any other officer or for any other body to usurp that function of the courts. It is not for the Attorney General to decide matters about which there is a reasonable basis for doubt behind closed doors in behalf of any particular interest, or to substitute his judgment and his determination for the judgment and determination of the appropriate court.

If, on occasion, you learn of any action of the Department of Justice which you do not entirely understand or with which you are not inclined to agree, if it is criticized—and it will be, because you know the Attorney General never makes a decision but what he disappoints someone—if it is criticized let me remind you to recur to first principles before you form your judgment of the action taken.

And what of common honesty as an issue in this campaign? As Mr. Hughes said in his admirable Cincinnati speech—"Honesty is common. It is common to both parties because it is common to the American people." No party has a monopoly on honesty. Guilt and innocence are not the attributes of parties, but of individuals. We detest dishonesty and corruption. We demand that they be punished. Wherever there is specific information on which, according to the law of the land, an indictment or a civil action can be founded, indictments have been found and civil actions have been begun. They will be proceeded with. Any statement made that the Department of Justice or anyone else in the Government has delayed this procedure, or will avoid its final conclusion, or that it will not be pressed with vigor and determination is not true. And when it comes to honesty in the Government, who is there in American political life who is more honest or a truer American than Calvin Coolidge? [Applause.]

He is long tried and experienced in the art of government. He has served the public as a member of the city government of his own city, as Mayor, as representative in the State Legislature, as a member of the State Senate, as President of the Senate, as Governor of the State, as Vice-President, as President of the United States, and he is unscathed. He knows the processes and procedures of government as few Presidents have known them. As President, he is administering the Government, unswerved by mere expediency, without fear, without favor, wisely,

economically, and honestly. The frugality and simplicity of his life mark him for what he is and always has been, an idealist and man of the people.

In his speech of acceptance he said, "No individual or group of individuals may expect any governmental favors in return for party assistance. Whatever any one gives must be given for the common good or not at all." It took courage and moral fiber to make that statement on the eve of a great political campaign. It is a guaranty of good government and honesty in government. Who believes under his administration that the Department of Justice or any other great department of the Government is not being honestly and straightforwardly administered in the public interest? What person is there who does not know in his own breast that the cause of honest, competent and economical government will be advanced by the election of Calvin Coolidge to the Presidency?

He stands for economy in government, for the application of business principles to the economic and fiscal problems of the nation. He is a believer in constitutional government, in the sovereign rights of States under the Constitution, in the civil liberty of citizens guaranteed by the Constitution, and in the power of the courts to uphold and protect those rights. A vote for him is a vote for the continuance of sanity in government and the perpetuation of constitutional government in America; it is a vote for common sense and common honesty in government. [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, the League is under very great obligation to our distinguished guest of honor, the Attorney General, who has come to us to-day, for his brilliant and illuminating address; and we are also obligated to Senator Pepper for his part in to-day's program so admirably performed. The speeches this afternoon have been broadcasted through the courtesy of Strawbridge & Clothier. The meeting is now adjourned.

FOUNDERS' DAY

CELEBRATION OF THE SIXTY-SECOND
ANNIVERSARY

THE UNION LEAGUE OF PHILADELPHIA

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER TWENTY-NINTH
NINETEEN TWENTY-FOUR

Address by Hon. Albert J. Beveridge, delivered on
Saturday, November 29, 1924, at the Founders'
Day celebration of the Sixty-second Anniversary of
the founding of The Union League of Philadelphia.

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen of The Union League: We are met here tonight on an historical occasion. When the small group of patriots sixty-two years ago founded The Union League of Philadelphia for the purpose of assisting President Lincoln in the preservation of the Union, a most disastrous Civil War was in progress. The assistance and support rendered the Government by The Union League in those dark days was timely and its importance was acknowledged with profound appreciation by the administration at Washington. Since that fateful period, the safety of the Union and of the institutions upon which our constitutional government is founded have not been more seriously threatened than during the recent Presidential campaign, when the radical forces made a most vicious attack upon the Constitution and the Supreme Court of the United States. Again The Union League, true to its traditions and its motto, "Love of Country leads," took an active and effective part in the battle, this time of ballots. The triumphant success of the Republican ticket and the re-election of President Coolidge insure a further period of stable, capable, efficient and sensible administration. [Applause.] To this result, and to the complete rout of radicals, The Union League contributed no small share.

Our members, Republicans loyal to the best traditions of the party, are deeply concerned in the immediate establishment at Washington of competent and effective majority leadership in both branches of Congress [applause], and in the displacement from important committee assignments by loyal party members of those merely masquerading as Republicans, to the end that

party responsibility may be re-established and President Coolidge effectively supported. [Applause.] I am delighted to know that part of that program is already under way. At the Republican conference yesterday, a member of this Union League offered the resolution, our distinguished junior Senator, Hon. David A. Reed. [Applause.]

In fixing the blame for conditions which provided the excuse for the attempt to form a third party, the skirts of the Republican party are not entirely clear. We need to put our own house in order that through capable leadership and effective administration we leave slight excuse for new parties in this period of our history, which is so important not only to us but to the entire world. Seldom has the call been so insistent for the ablest and best leadership worthy of this greatest of all republics.

Upon this anniversary occasion, we have as our guest of honor an eminent American, an upstanding gentleman and a distinguished Republican, a man of many and varied attainments. As a lawyer, statesman, author and man of affairs, his has been a noted career. [Applause.] If he had not performed any other worth while act or service, his "Life of John Marshall" alone would insure him eternal fame. Upon his first election to the United States Senate some quarter of a century ago, he honored The Union League with his maiden speech. Many of our members remember with delight that splendid address, an effort which made him many warm and admiring friends, whom, together with many since added, he retains to this day. He has come to us tonight at great personal sacrifice to attend this meeting. His life and that of The Union League, have covered a similar span, he, too, having recently been sixty-two years of age; and therefore it is particularly fitting that he, with his experience and gift of vision, should be our speaker this evening.

It is my privilege to present to you the distinguished former Senator from Indiana, Hon. Albert J. Beveridge. [Applause.]

SENATOR BEVERIDGE.—Mr. Passmore, and Gentlemen of The Union League: I am complimented and honored, by being permitted to speak to you for a little while this evening. But in order to prepare you for what may occur, I want to lay the responsibility where it belongs. It so happened that when I was asked, it was quite impossible for me to prepare an address such as this historic and notable occasion requires, and I told Mr. Passmore and other friends that I would have to speak entirely extemporaneously. I thought they would accept that as a graceful side-stepping and let me off. But they said, "That is just what we want." So that if, in the course of these discursive remarks, you are more disappointed than usual, lay the blame where it belongs and put the brand upon the brows of my friends. [Laughter.] I myself do not like an extemporaneous speech; I do not like to hear one and I do not like to make one. My own observation and experience has been that the extemporaneous speaker seldom says anything, and never gets through saying it. [Laughter.]

Of course, everybody in the country knows about The Union League of Philadelphia, and I should consider it a distinction to be asked to appear here under any circumstances, but this Club is associated in my life in a manner that it is twined in with strands of affection about my heart. When I was elected to the Senate, it chanced that the first request I got for the first speech was from The Union League of Philadelphia. I thought that was a very great honor indeed, and I think so now. I worked hard on that speech, started for Philadelphia, and got snow-bound at Coatesville, and did not get here until the next day; but, notwithstanding that, you gentlemen all assembled and heard me through. From that day to this

I have had for this great and historic organization feelings of a peculiarly personal nature; and it is with that spirit that I speak to you tonight.

Of course, it would be banal for me to recall what each one of you has in mind, I am sure the younger men quite as much if not more than the older members, that The Union League is the parent, the first of the great Union League Clubs that were formed after it but before the end of the Civil War, The Union League Club of New York, The Union League Club of Chicago—all of them followed in the footsteps and imitated the example set by those remarkable men who founded this organization.

And the second thing is still more significant: I have undertaken to write as a companion piece to the life of Chief Justice Marshall the life of Abraham Lincoln, who rose to heights of spiritual grandeur and of statesmanlike vision that no other mere human being ever reached; only Jesus himself rose to greater heights. The Sermon on the Mount is, of course, the last word, and next to it is the Second Inaugural. But all that came toward the last; those things for which the world now worships Abraham Lincoln, and always will worship him increasingly, came within the last two and a half or three years of his life; and it is a historical fact, as well as a historic fact, that The Union League of Philadelphia was organized almost exactly at the beginning of that great period in Lincoln's life which makes him immortal, and synchronized with that time in the life of Lincoln that set him above all men of all times. It is a rather solemn thought that your organization had its beginning at the same time as the beginning of the great period in the life of Abraham Lincoln.

It was only a week ago that sixty-two years had passed since this League was formed at a very critical time,—with one exception, I think, and that exception during the Revolution, the highest point of all human history.

A desperate struggle was on, not so much against slavery as we know now—that would have passed in any event—but to preserve a nation of free men; to settle the question, in Lincoln's wonderful words, whether a government of, for and by the people should endure or perish from the earth. That was the real meaning of that struggle.

We had determined to go on, and we did go on, through such storms of blood and death as one cannot describe, to continue the tremendous experiment—and we do not yet know whether it is going to be successful—of having a nation where liberty should endure under institutions of orderly freedom.

To my mind that is what this United States means; as I understand it, that is the interpretation of the work of Abraham Lincoln. As I look upon it, that was the great contribution of John Marshall. Whether or not a democracy, whether or not men and women who are free, can still have such restraint and consideration for one another to maintain regularity and order and system in their liberty is a thing that we are trying to work out.

In its deeper meaning, the result of the Civil War, and the purpose of the Civil War, and of the men who founded this great organization, was to maintain the Constitution of the United States, which I think is the greatest scheme of government ever devised by the prevision and sagacity of man. I do not at all object to men attacking the Constitution; if they are wrong, they will fail; if I am right, I shall be able to show that I am right. After all, in free institutions, radicalism has a useful purpose; in the language of Abraham Lincoln, applied to the same set of men, he said, "Why, let them blow off steam." It is the safety valve of free institutions.

Now, we have been through a very remarkable campaign. There were no issues in the campaign; of course, Mr. Hughes said, "The issue is Coolidge or no election," but that was not an issue; that was a predicament.

[Laughter] But there were some big deep questions for the first time in sixty-eight years people wanted to discuss and hear about first principles, fundamentals. In our prior campaigns, we had up important things, but, after all, more or less passing things; in this campaign, we went back, by force of circumstances, to the period of Lincoln's preparation for his life work.

In those days farmers would load their whole families into big wagons, and over horrible roads would go twenty miles, thirty miles, sixty miles to a political meeting, and they would gather there by thousands. Even in my boyhood that had not passed away. I do not know a single person today who would take a hundredth part of the trouble that those people did to hear a public question discussed. And when they had traveled those two or three days through terrible roads, with their entire families with them, they would hear, not cheap talk about this party and that party and the things to which we have been accustomed for the last twenty-five or thirty years, but they would hear men of ability—Lincoln, Douglas, Seward, men of that caliber—discuss institutions and systems of government, Constitutional rights and Constitutional powers. Sometimes these speeches lasted half a day, but they were in the simplest terms. Those farmers and their families would go home and they would discuss those subjects at their homes and in their meetings with their neighbors until election day. And so it happened that when the Civil War came on there was among the American people a greater knowledge of our fundamental law, of our Constitution, its meaning and its history, than there ever had been before, or there ever has been since.

And now once more, fate or destiny has led us back to those great heights, where we see, as the old saying was, how necessary it is to refer to first principles. We are at that point again, and I cannot imagine anything more beneficial.

Thinking then of the organization of this Union League and what it stands for, of the criticisms that are made of our Constitution, and of the fact that the Civil War at bottom was to maintain that Constitution as the fundamental law of the whole republic, I have thought, after talking with some of you gentlemen here tonight, that perhaps it would not be entirely unacceptable if I talked to you for a little while about the Constitution of the United States, the manner of changing it, the proposed changes that are now urged and what they would mean.

I said to a very eminent gentlemen in New York this morning that I was very much upset about what to talk about; I thought maybe I would talk about bureaucracy, the growth of officialdom, that I might take up the railroad question, this, that and the other, and he said, "No, you go ahead and talk about the Constitution." "Well, but," I said, "perhaps that would be too simple a thing for those gentlemen; they know all about that." "Why," he said, "Albert, go right ahead, up here in our Club in New York I have found out that nobody knows anything about anything." [Laughter.] I do not attribute that to you gentlemen, but merely for the purpose of refreshing you on what you of course already know, and doubtless know better than myself, I will talk, in as simple a fashion as I may, imitating so far as I am able the method of Lincoln himself in debate, about this Constitution concerning which we hear so much.

I have found in the campaign, to my intense surprise, that thousands of country people, farmers and their wives, would gather in the open and stand and listen to a discussion about the Constitution. Of course, all the members of the House and Senate know all about it, but I have even found some lawyers who didn't know whether the Constitution was a humming-bird or a hippopotamus. [Laughter.]

Now, then, in order to understand the proposals to

change the Constitution, it is necessary, I take it, that we understand exactly what the Constitution is. My four Gospels of Americanism are the Declaration, the Constitution, both formed right here in Philadelphia, Washington's Farewell Address and Lincoln's Second Inaugural. If I could have my way, I would have those printed in a pamphlet and put in the hands of every boy and girl, yes, of every man and woman, in the whole country. I think maybe I might accompany it—no, I wouldn't, either—by a treatise on the Bible, but you can't make a treatise of the Bible. But the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the Farewell Address and the Second Inaugural constitute a philosophy of government and state aspirations of a people; and this mis-used word "Americanism" which we hear so much is there explained.

What, then, is our Constitution? It is our basic law; it is the people's law; it is the fundamental, permanent law of the people. The Convention here in Philadelphia was exactly like a committee writing a plan of government to be submitted to the people for their approval, and it was adopted by the people as directly as it was possible to be adopted. It is the creative law which creates the Government; it creates Congress, it creates the President, it creates the courts; and it says just what each of them shall do.

The men who framed the Constitution knew that it was not perfect, because no merely human thing can be perfect; they knew that it might need change once in a while with the development and growth of the nation; and therefore they provided in the Constitution just how it can be changed; and it cannot be changed, except by revolution, in any other way.

How can it be changed? Any one of us has a perfect right as a citizen, and if we believe it, it becomes our duty as a citizen, to suggest any change in the Constitution

that we think would be better for the whole country. I condemn no man for doing that, and I trust the time will never come when an American citizen shall be condemned for speaking freely within the law.

But before a change can be made in the Constitution, two-thirds of both Houses of Congress must submit it to the States, and three-fourths of the States must then ratify it. It then becomes a part of this people's fundamental, permanent law that creates the government, controls the government and controls the people themselves.

There is another method, that two-thirds of the States may petition Congress to call a Constitutional Convention and submit amendments, but that is obsolete; it never has been used, and like a good many other provisions of our fundamental law, it is obsolete. Not all of our Constitution is operative, you understand; for example, our method of electing Presidents is in practice, almost exactly the reverse of the word and theory of the Constitution. Many of the powers of the President are not in the Constitution except by inference; they are not non-constitutional, but they are extra-constitutional.

Now, if I have made it clear how this Constitution can be changed, let us see what changes are proposed. It must not for a moment be imagined, friends, that because of our tremendous majority at the last election, which I believe is historic, without a parallel here or abroad, there will not be further urging for change in the Constitution. Since the election I have received I suppose, as many as a dozen letters from students in high schools all over the country, saying, "We are debating the following question: Resolved that the Supreme Court should not have the power to declare acts of Congress unconstitutional."

That question is being discussed now in our high schools, in our colleges, and our civic bodies, and no person must suppose that the idea is going to be extinguished because

of one election. Those things will go on, and if in the end they appeal to the judgement of all the people, they will prevail; if they do not appeal to the common sense of all the people, they will fail. And so I have felt that it might be helpful to try to explain in words of one syllable just what these changes will mean to the well-being of the nation as a whole and to all of the people as individuals.

There are a great many proposals; we have already had nineteen amendments to the Constitution made in the way that I have said; in fact, we have had so many in recent years that I am inclined to think that it would be a good thing not to have any more Constitutional amendments until the country has digested those we already have—otherwise we might possibly suffer from Constitutional indigestion. [Laughter.]

Two are proposed of which you will hear more and increasingly. The first has as its chief protagonist that very able and very honorable man—I am sorry for him—the late Democratic candidate for President, Mr. Davis; and he is joined in his proposition by some rather strong men in our party. The late Samuel McCall, Governor of Massachusetts, urged the same thing, and there are an increasing number of good men and good women who are so obsessed with the European theory of making treaties that, in magazines, and in literature being distributed, the thing will be even more agitated in the future than it has been in the past.

They propose this change; they say as the basis of the change, before I tell what the change is, that we have now come into a new period when we are going to have more treaties and more to do with other countries, more agreements to be made, than we ever had, and therefore we must have promptness in closing treaties. So they say the time has passed when the provision of our Constitution that a treaty must be ratified by two-thirds of the Senate is useful. They say that is too slow; that it does

not admit of party control, and that our Constitution must be amended so that hereafter a treaty may be ratified by a majority of the Senate, just as a law is now passed by a majority of Congress. They say that after all a treaty is a law, that if a majority of Congress can pass a law, a majority of the Senate should be able to ratify a treaty; and that no other government on earth has any such requirement.

Now, these seem to be good arguments; let us see whether they are. First of all, it may be true, that within the next ten years we may make more treaties with other nations than we have made within the entire one hundred and forty years of our existence.

Is a treaty the same thing as a statute? We have a great number of new voters, the women; they are searching very earnestly to know what is the best thing to do, and they are very much affected by this idea that we ought to close our bargains with foreign governments promptly, that it is a method of reconciliation, and good will, and all that sort of thing; and I have had some very able women say to me, "Why, Senator, if Congress can pass a law by a majority, why should not the Senate ratify a treaty by a majority? They are the same thing."

But are they? What is the difference? A law passed by a majority of Congress can be amended or repealed at any time by the same majority that passed it, whereas a treaty once ratified cannot be amended or repealed by any power whatever.

One is transient, subject to public opinion; the other is fixed.

For example, suppose all of us and all the people of the country were quite sure that we wanted a law; we were very sure of it. Congress could, and usually does, in obedience to public opinion, pass that law. Well, it is the work of human hands, therefore it is defective. After a year or two, we find that it needs to be amended, it does

not work well, it needs to be made more practical. We say to Congress, "Change that law," and Congress changes it.

After two or three years more, we find that the whole thing is a mistake, that it works badly for the country and for the individuals in the country, and we say to Congress, "Repeal that law." Congress can and usually does repeal that law; it responds to public opinion.

I suppose that nine-tenths of the time of your State Legislature, if it is on its job, and of our Congress, is taken up in the amendment and improvement and modification of the very laws that they and their predecessors have passed; they go through the same process that your business goes through.

But suppose all of us make up our minds that we want a particular treaty. We have been worked upon by propaganda; you must not forget that in the making of treaties we invite foreign propaganda. That is only human nature, you can't blame them for it; I only blame us for yielding to it. But we all make up our minds and are quite sure that we want a certain treaty, just as we made up our minds that we wanted a law, and the Senate ratifies that treaty as we wish them to do.

Well, that treaty is also human; the only difference is that it is the work of a half dozen men, whereas a law is the work of several hundred men. It is ratified, and then, after a year, we find it does not work well, it needs to be strengthened, it needs to be changed, it needs modification and amendment, and we ask the Senate to change, modify and amend it. But the Senate cannot do it as Congress can change, modify or amend a law.

Suppose after four or five years we find that treaty a bad thing, that we have been led into a mistake, that it is involving us in the perils of war, or that for any reason we want to get rid of it, and all of us change our minds just as we changed our minds about law, and we say to the

Senate, just as we said to Congress in the case of the law, "Here, get rid of that, repeal it; it is bad, it has not turned out the way we thought it would turn out.

The Senate cannot repeal that treaty as Congress could repeal that law; it is fixed, it is permanent. It is more permanent than the Constitution itself, because the Constitution can be amended, and a treaty cannot be amended. The only way it can be modified or gotten rid of is by agreement with the other nation or nations that signed it; and it stands to reason that if we want it changed they do not. And even if they do agree, that amounts to a new treaty.

So in the one case you are dealing with a thing that is temporary in its nature, and it ought to be temporary, a law; in the other you are dealing with a contract that binds the nation as a nation, and every man, woman and child in the nation, and generations yet unborn.

It is possible to think of a treaty, as indeed, I think of one now that I shall not name, already in existence, and several others that are proposed and urged by most sincere and excellent and patriotic men and women, which may possibly result in my little boy, now in school, being called upon to lay down his life on foreign battlefields twenty-five years from now. That is the difference.

Very well, then, the basis of their argument fails; they say that a majority of the Senate should ratify a treaty because it is the same as a law, but you see it is the exact opposite of a law.

Is there any other reason? You will find that there are Senators down there now who want this change made. "Yes," they say, "it must be done in order to expedite international business," and Mr. John W. Davis and some men in our party say, "It is perfectly obvious that you cannot have unified party control over two-thirds of the Senate;" and that the Senate must act as a party, not only by a majority but as a party, as partisans on a treaty just as they do on a statute.

My friends, is that true? Why was our American plan adopted? The late Lord Bryce, who knew more about American institutions than any other foreigner, and a good deal more than most American lawyers, said that the American plan, requiring two-thirds of the Senate to ratify a treaty before it is effective, was adopted in order to enable the American nation, with honor, to get out of a bad bargain into which a President or Secretary of State may have gotten them; that was the reason for the adoption of that part of it.

What is our American plan? We read about treaties in the newspapers and perhaps we do not understand all about them. Under our American plan, the like of which does not exist in the whole world, although the rest of the world is now coming to it, our President can negotiate a treaty. He does it through the Secretary of State, who is his agent and no more. The President can discharge the Secretary of State at any time with or without cause. He is merely the agent through which the President performs his functions in dealing with foreign affairs; and through this agent, he agrees upon the terms of the treaty, the elements of the bargain, of the contract. They reduce it to writing, and that is called negotiating a treaty.

That is as far as the President can go under the American Constitution; there his power ends. Then he must, if he is going on with it, submit it to the Senate; and when he submits it to the Senate, he has no further control over it, except that he can call it back and end the whole thing; but if he leaves it there, his power is ended.

Then under our Constitution it becomes the duty of each Senator to take up that treaty and study it independently; he must study it with reference to its immediate effect on the country, and all the people in it, and also with reference to its future effect on the country; he must use a microscope, he must use a telescope, he must examine minutely into the meaning of words.

You have seen treaties in the newspapers and thought you understood them, but very frequently a simple word in a treaty has a diplomatic meaning different from its ordinary meaning; and that very difference of the diplomatic meaning may involve the fundamental interests of the country and of every fireside in the whole land.

Then that Senator must vote upon the treaty with absolute independence; he no longer represents his State in that particular; he is a trustee for the whole nation and for all the future; he is responsible only to God and his own conscience and to history.

We have a saying, a noble one, that when we are at war politics stops at the seashore. That is right. When we are not at war, we divide sincerely and honestly into two opposing groups; that is all right. But when we are at war, we are no longer Democrats, we are no longer Republicans, we are all Americans and nothing but Americans. The same thing holds for the same reason in the negotiation of a treaty which may involve us in war, a treaty which affects every cradle in the Republic, and, as I said, generations still unborn. Partisan politics has no purpose there; the Senator votes as an independent trustee of the whole Republic, and of all the future. Yet say he should vote as a partisan.

I was in the Senate for twelve years, and most of the time on the Foreign Relations Committee. During that time some important treaties came to us negotiated by William McKinley, whose Republicanism no man will question, and Theodore Roosevelt and William H. Taft. Some of those treaties were vital—one was the Hay-Pauncefote treaty regarding the Canal—and yet in not one single instance did any of those Republican Presidents so much as intimate to us what they would like us to do; in no instance was the treaty made an administration measure as is now proposed.

From the time of Washington, who negotiated the first

treaty, which, by the way, the Senate amended, clear down to six years ago, no American President, no matter to what party he belonged, ever tried to make a treaty an administration measure and have it supported as such. Jefferson did not, Jackson did not, Lincoln did not; none of them did.

The first time that was ever proposed was by Mr. Wilson. He did; the party lash was wielded there, and if it had not been for the American provision requiring a two-thirds vote before a treaty can be ratified, this nation today would be bound to the treaty of Versailles, which the late Lord Bryce, agreeing with the late Senator Philander Chase Knox, the greatest international lawyer I ever knew, denounced as worse than the infamous treaty of Vienna; and today we would be in all the European intrigues and entanglements because Mr. Wilson, perfectly honorable but believing that the European system is better than ours, believed, as do Mr. Davis and a great many of our own men, that a treaty as a law should be made an administration measure and supported by the party of the President who negotiated it.

The next one was by our own President, Mr. Harding. Those are the only two times in our history. There again, in the Four-Power Treaty, the proposed Peace Conference, the party line was drawn, and men were supposed to support a treaty, not because they believed in it, but because it had been negotiated by a Democratic President, Mr. Wilson, or by a Republican President, Mr. Harding.

Well, my friends, this is a vital thing, and one that we shall very soon have to face much more earnestly than we faced anything in the recent campaign. From the history of the thing and its nature, I say this, that any Senator who, without independent investigation, without any views of his own, without any consciousness that he is a trustee for the Republic, would vote either for or

against a contract with another nation merely because that contract was negotiated by a President of his own or of the opposing party, any Senator who would do that, violates the spirit of his oath of office and is unworthy to sit in the seat of a Webster or a Clay. [Applause.]

When a Senator votes on a treaty, he does the most solemn and important act that any official can do under our form of government, infinitely more important than when he votes on a law, because he can change his vote, or he can vote to repeal that law; but he cannot vote to repeal or modify a treaty after it is ratified. It is infinitely more important than anything a President does, because a President does nothing he cannot undo. It is infinitely more solemn and important than a decision of the Supreme Court, because the Supreme Court can always reverse its decisions, and has done so hundreds of times. But when a Senator of the United States votes to ratify a treaty and it is ratified, he has done the only definitive thing that can be done under the American Constitution, the only thing that cannot be undone by him or any other power; and to yield his judgment, to yield his patriotism to the exigencies of a party emergency, is faithlessness to the well-being of this mighty people.

Another reason why our plan was adopted—we might as well get this clear while we are at it—was as Lord Bryce points out, so that we could avoid the entanglements of secret diplomacy by which all foreign nations conducted their foreign affairs when our Constitution was adopted, and by which all nations today except ours continue to conduct their foreign affairs. Those men who met here in Philadelphia did not propose that the lives of American children or the substance of the American people should be made the plaything of secret negotiations by men, no matter how wise; and so they provided that this nation and all its people should not be bound unless two-thirds of the Senate of the United

States, after open discussion, should so approve; and that is another reason why it was adopted.

They tell us that no other nation requires that. That is true. But you say, "Why, Senator, I have read in the newspapers that the British Parliament is called on to ratify a treaty, and the French Parliament and the Italian Parliament." You have read that for only four years; you have read that only since the war. Under no constitution in the world is there the same requirement as ours. In Great Britain, France, Japan and Italy, the Executive does the whole thing; it not only negotiates the treaty but it makes it, it concludes it. They do not have to refer it to the Legislature at all, and where they have referred it to the Legislature since the war, they have been consciously beginning to adopt the American plan; and just at the time that they are beginning to adopt the American plan, these gentlemen propose to abandon the American plan and adopt theirs. Well, the Republican Party is not going to let them.

Another thing; not once are those treaties ever published and submitted to their Parliaments so that we over here can read about them, until those capable, clever men have determined that the psychological hour has arrived; and even that does not end the secrecy. The League of Nations—I am not going to talk to you about that because I wish to retain my composure—the League of Nations proposed to end secret diplomacy by having a provision that all treaties must be filed with the Secretariat of the League. Well, that is very simple. My dear friends, I am sorry to break this news to you, but you must not imagine that all the slick politicians are here in Pennsylvania; I assure you that over there in Europe they have, as the saying goes, politicians so slick that they can beat our politicians here with their hands tied behind their backs. And there are treaties made over there to this day that are not filed with the Secre-

tariat of the League. How do you suppose they get around it? Well, my dear friends—Stotesbury here would perhaps never think of this—they do not call them treaties at all, they just call them memoranda and you do not have to file a memorandum. [Laughter.]

I think that of all the wise provisions of our fundamental law, if there is one wiser than the others it is that which requires the vote of two-thirds of the Senate of the United States before the faith of this nation, which always is kept—something that other nations do not always do—shall be finally pledged. [Applause.]

Now, have I made this proposed change in the Constitution clear? If I have, then I go on to the next amendment to the Constitution proposed by Mr. LaFollette and other men, men of great power, too. Of the two, I frankly tell you I would rather have the LaFollette amendment than the amendment I have just discussed—there is less danger in it. Thanks to the common sense of the American people, which is the greatest strength of the Republic, we do not have to have either, and we are not going to have either.

Now, this amendment to change the Senate two-thirds into a majority is new, it is radical, it is revolutionary. I am not down on it because it is new, because it is radical or because it is revolutionary; that is all right. They have a right to propose it, but it happens to be new, radical and fundamentally revolutionary.

The other one proposed by Mr. LaFollette is old; the idea of it is exactly a hundred and nineteen years old this year. A hundred and nineteen years ago the first attack was made upon the Supreme Court of the United States by Thomas Jefferson, the greatest politician, the greatest party general, with the single exception of Abraham Lincoln, who ever lived. I agree with Professor Channing when he says that in all the history of the world there never was a party general comparable to Thomas

Jefferson. He was very hostile to the courts; he held the theory that these men hold now, that the judiciary should be harmonized with Legislature, and therefore when what he called the bloodless revolution came in 1800 that is, the triumph of the radical cause, when he was elected President, he insisted that the judiciary should be harmonized with the new order of things. But he knew how hard it was to get the Constitution amended.

One of the chief objections made, one of the chief criticisms of our Constitution in other countries by scholars and jurists, and by a great many here, is that it is too rigid, it is too hard to change. According to my way of thinking, that is its chief excellence, that it is so permanent, that it is so hard to change, because it is the people's permanent, fundamental, basic law. We here have no tradition; we are not a government of tradition; we haven't anything stable at all except the Constitution of the United States, and it is vital that that shall be stationary except where the well-being of the American people indispensably requires a change.

Well, Thomas Jefferson, who was a very good lawyer, knew how hard it was to get the Constitution amended and how long it would take and so with nothing less than genius, so simple was it, so direct, so bold, he cut across lots, he took a short cut, and he attacked the Supreme Court by impeachment. He attacked it, by the way, because the Supreme Court under Marshall had just decided that a law of Congress which violated the Constitution was null and void; and by power of impeachment, Jefferson gave orders to his party in the House. In his letters describing the Democratic party—they called it the Republican party then—Fisher Ames said that Mr. Jefferson's party was as well disciplined as a Prussian regiment. Jefferson gave orders to impeach Justice Chase, and Justice Chase was impeached. Jefferson

expected to remove the Justices of the Supreme Court and fill their places by men who would be in accord with the majority of Congress. That attack failed in the greatest impeachment trial ever held in the history of the world. It is a turning point in our history; and the fact that today you have permanent courts, independent courts, above politics and above politicians, is due to the defeat of Mr. Jefferson's attack on the Supreme Court one hundred and nineteen years ago.

Then again it was attacked by perhaps the most popular as well as the most combative President we ever had, Andrew Jackson. He denied the Court had the power, that is all; he denounced it; he said, "John Marshall has issued his mandate; now, damn him, let him execute it if he can." And from that day to this there have been nineteen separate attacks and a great many Constitutional amendments proposed, all embodying the idea that we have had presented in this campaign, and none of them succeeded, none of them got anywhere, they hardly got a start.

Why didn't they get a start? Because after simple argument with the people, not merely whooping it up for this party or that party, but showing the people the common sense of it, the good common sense of the American people disapproved each attack upon the Supreme Court, and the Supreme Court came out of each attack stronger than it was before.

That is what is happening now in this attack that has recently been made, and it is what will happen increasingly unless we who believe in the Court as the heart of our institutions become negligent, indifferent or lazy, and do not go out and present our side. If we merely content ourselves with denouncing the other fellow who does not agree with us, and do not do anything ourselves, perhaps the other fellow will convince the people.

Now, I propose to take up for just a few moments the

reasons why I think this proposition is bad. I wrote an article for the *Saturday Evening Post*, and I re-wrote it a great many times, after consultation with some of the ablest teachers of constitutional law in America, and some of our foremost lawyers. It was on this very question; I wanted to create public opinion throughout the nation on this question, as well as on the question of the railroads and others; so in that article I deliberately said, and I repeat tonight what I said then, that I do not denounce the men who proposed this amendment; they had a right to, and doubtless they were as sincere as I; that I did not permit any man to question my sincerity, and I did not question the sincerity of anybody else; that probably they wanted exactly what I want and what all of us want, that is, the best government of all the people, but we differ as to what is the best method of getting the best government; and I said, "When the time comes, I do not, as a defender of my country's Constitution, want crimination or hatred as an ally; when I cannot defend it by reason and argument, I shall not resort to abuse and vituperation."

Let us then discuss this matter in good temper, in the Lincoln way. You know Lincoln never got excited in his life; he never abused, he never denounced, but with malice toward none and charity for all he merely tried to show the people what was right and best for the whole country. In that frame of mind, let us examine this question.

I know professors and good men, learned men, who believe in Mr. LaFollette's proposition. They are not bad men. I know what they say; it is the five-four decisions and a lot of other little things that I wish I had time to talk to you about, but in this Constitutional lecture I have not. They propose that when the Supreme Court says that an act of Congress is null and void, if a majority of Congress passes that same act over the

judicial veto it shall be the law, notwithstanding the Supreme Court of the United States. Now, that is the proposition; is it a good thing? Well, let us see.

The first ten amendments to the Constitution constitute our Bill of Rights. In that Bill of Rights, and in two or three provisions of the Constitution itself, is everything that makes us free men, everything that distinguishes us as citizens of a republic from the subjects of an autocracy.

For instance, I suppose we will all agree that the highest achievement of human liberty, the greatest effort, the mightiest triumph of freedom is the right of free speech and a free press. We have that. Did we always have it? No. How do we have it? It is the sacred guaranty of our Constitution. How did it happen there? Why, it came through centuries of bloodshed and struggle and persecution, when tyrants and despots and sometimes cruel majorities—because majorities can be as cruel and brutal as any tyrant—had tried to stop other people from saying things they did not want said.

I find some of that temper now right here in America; if the other fellow does not agree with us, we want to shut him up. It is a long, tremendous struggle. Down there in Athens, to use a modern illustration, because it was modern in the struggle, there was Socrates; he expressed an opinion, a perfectly right, reasonable, moderate opinion—but yet the authorities said that he had offended the deities themselves, and they condemned him to death; he had to drink poison.

Socrates took it good-naturedly, he said, “My life does not amount to much,” but before he drank the hemlock he sat down and wrote the first great defense of free speech, the *Apologia* of Socrates. The centuries rolled on, and men died for the right to express their opinions, they were imprisoned, they were shot, they were tortured and killed, until finally in England came the time of John Milton, and then the Star Chamber was raised up.

The king appointed a certain number of excellent gentlemen to whom anything that anybody wrote must be submitted, and if they thought it was not a good thing to go to the people, they did not allow it to be published, on the theory that the people cannot be trusted to hear all the truth, that they should read only the things that were approved by them.

And then John Milton, the poet of heaven and hell, but much more the poet of human freedom, wrote his immortal attack upon the Star Chamber. I wish you would read it tomorrow; you might think it was written here in America now, it is so modern. It is called the *Areopagitica* of John Milton. With his pen he overturned the Star Chamber, and another great advance was made in human liberty.

Then came our Revolution, and our forefathers, sitting here in Philadelphia, did not adopt it then, but the first amendment to the Constitution, which was ratified by the States only on consideration that it would be put in the Constitution, was the one which said that wherever floats the American flag there shall be no Star Chamber, there shall be no suppression of free speech and a free press; that public opinion must rule the country; that every man has a right to say exactly what he pleases with but one limitation, that no man, no matter who he is, high or low, may advocate disobedience to law or the violent overthrow of the government. But within that limitation speech and thought are free and that is what makes liberty; that is what makes for human progress.

Very well; suppose now that in a time of frenzy, State Legislatures—they have done it—or Congress—they have come very near doing it—should pass a law suppressing free speech or a free press, and you, say, or any of us, for a perfectly legitimate expression of opinion that we had practiced since childhood, were suddenly seized by officers of the government because of

the exercise of our Constitutional rights, and we went to the court and demanded the protection of the Constitution. The court says, "You shall have it; between you and the infuriated multitude we put the shield of the Constitution of your country."

And then suppose Congress, either by a majority vote or any vote, two-thirds or otherwise, in that moment of frenzy and passion, should pass the same thing over again; your tongue is palsied, your lips are sealed, you are no longer an American citizen, you are infinitely worse than if you were the subject of a Czar.

Take another thing; take religious freedom. That is up now and it has been up many times. How does that happen to be in our Constitution? Read the horrible, dripping, crimson, thrilling history of religious intolerance, the Inquisition in Spain, Cromwell in England and the north of Ireland—they are the same on either side—where they say, "Unless you believe as I do, you are a heretic and you must be condemned." Our forefathers said, "That shall not be here; in America everybody can worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience or not at all if he does not wish to."

Suppose a fanatical majority of Congress—it may come too—passed a law denying the freedom of religion; it may come about that this right, to you more sacred and more precious than life itself, may be denied. You appeal to the courts of your country, you demand your rights and the Supreme Court says, as Richelieu did, "Yes, around that citizen I draw the sacred circle of his country's Constitution," and Congress cannot pass that line; the President cannot, the Government of the United States cannot.

A thing that is most inspiring to me is that there is not among American citizens a man or woman so poor, so lowly, so without influence, that that man or woman is not stronger than the Government of the United States

itself in the protection of his or her rights. Congress cannot take them away; the President cannot take them away; the army and navy cannot take them away.

Another thing: The only crime in the Constitution—and this brings us back to Lincoln—is treason; all other crimes are fixed by the Legislatures or Congress, but the Constitution fixes treason, says what it shall be, and you cannot make it anything else. It says how it shall be proved, only by the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or by confession in open court, and you cannot prove it in any other way.

Well, suppose in a moment of frenzy, when men have lost their heads—and that is the only time we are in danger—Congress or the State Legislature passes a law making something else treason. You frequently hear idle talk about so-and-so being “treasonable.” Nonsense; under our Constitution, it is not. But suppose you have an enemy—this has occurred thousands of times, not hundreds but thousands, in this and other countries; it is none of these imaginary suppositions; it actually has occurred—a personal enemy says, “Aha, I heard him say something or do something or talk to some person,” and they build up a case of constructive treason and you are seized and sent to the gallows.

Why is there this provision in our Constitution? My friends, there has been a great novel written recently by a young Frenchman who surpasses Sabatini; it is the greatest pirate story I have ever read, and I have read all I can. It is called “Thomas the Lambkin.” It is cruel and brutal and bloody and a work of art. But if you want to have your blood stirred, if you want to keep awake, you don’t have to get “Thomas the Lambkin,” that French novel; just read the terrible unbelievable history of punishments for treason in England and France, in Italy and Germany under the doctrine of constructive treason, when the noblest men and women

in England were taken and condemned, dragged at horses' tails, subjected to torments and tortures that cannot be described even here in this company of men, and finally executed, and then you will find the reason for the provision in the American Constitution concerning treason.

John Marshall in the first great treason trial that arose, even at the danger of life itself, told Luther Martin, the lawyer there, "Well, they may kill me for this, but I must deliver this opinion." He delivered an opinion interpreting our Constitution which forever destroyed, wherever floats the American flag, the cruel, brutal, illogical and unreasonable English and European doctrine of constructive treason, and established forever in its stead the American doctrine of direct, personal guilt for real treason. And it has been estimated by careful scholars that during our Civil War that decision of Chief Justice Marshall saved hundreds of lives of innocent men.

This is in a certain sense the anniversary of Lincoln. I wish you men tomorrow or sometime next week would borrow from your lawyers' offices a volume of the reports of the Supreme Court of the United States, 4th Wallace it is called, and in that read the unanimous decision of the Supreme Court in the case of *Ex parte* Milligan, decided in 1866. It went up from my own State. Milligan out there was undoubtedly a traitor; he should have been shot, but the courts were open, and Indiana was not in the war zone.

The hotheads seized him, arrested him, and a military court martial condemned him to death, but his lawyers, among whom were some of the most eminent Republicans of the State, men who really knew what the war was about—that we were maintaining this very Constitution—got out a writ of *habeas corpus* and took it to the Supreme Court, and got it there just in time to save the man's life. It was a unanimous opinion of the Supreme

Court, every one of them an earnest Union man, not one of them a Southerner.

David Davis, appointed to the Supreme Court bench by Abraham Lincoln, rendered the decision, giving an opinion which is like the Declaration of Independence. It does not read like a judicial decision; it reads like the trumpet call of freedom; it has in it the tramp of charging squadrons; and at the end of a glowing, tremendous, overwhelmingly eloquent passage, the Supreme Court says that a country that can be saved only by sacrificing the fundamentals of human liberty is not worth the saving; and it goes on to say that the Constitution of the United States forms the Government of the United States; it rules the government and rules the people all the time, in war as well as in peace.

Let me give you another illustration which may affect you business men here in Philadelphia, and that soon. What is an *ex post facto* law? If you do not know you had better. An *ex post facto* law is a law passed by by your Legislature at the next session, or by Congress at the next session, that makes something you did last year, which was perfectly legal when you did it, a crime; or which takes a contract that you made and had a right to make ten years ago, and destroys that contract; that is an *ex post facto* law. Very well, how did that provision come in there? Because throughout the past, tools of ruthless majorities had, time and again, trying to sacrifice some man that the government had objection to, passed *ex post facto* laws. Our forefathers said, "You cannot do it." Suppose they do do it; they have tried it four or five times. Your life, your liberty and your property is in danger; what will you do? Your courts are your only security. If Congress were to pass the law over again, they are gone and gone forever.

Let me give you another illustration, involving the structure of the Government. During the war when

everybody had lost his head, the House had passed and the Senate was about to pass a law which the Constitution expressly said it shall not pass. The Constitution says that no preference shall be given to the ports of one State over the ports of another State. Well, some brilliant patriot down there conceived the idea that for war purposes certain ports should have all the commerce and shipping cases concentrated there, and they were about to pass it.

Then the man who, to my mind, was the ablest man at that time in or out of public life, easily the greatest constitutional lawyer in the country, my dear friend whose friendship honored me, the late Philander Chase Knox, arose in the Senate, and with his quiet smile said that he wished to call the attention of the Senate to a little thing, that the Constitution which created the Senate forbade the Senate passing any law of the kind. If Phil Knox had not been in his seat that morning, that law would have gone into the statute books, and the country would have been thrown into political confusion; the Supreme Court would have been compelled to hold an immediate session to overturn the law.

The whole question comes down to this, Would we rather trust our rights, our liberty, our safety, our lives, our property, and all the guaranties that make us free men, and make us a nation of free men, to the shifting, uncertain majority of Congress, or to a permanent court, above the power of Presidents to punish or reward, above the mutations of politics, with the authority under God and the people to say what is and what is not the law wherever floats the American flag? [Applause.]

And so, gentlemen, I might go on for a very long time showing that even the frame-work of our government, the way the thing exists, wholly depends upon this final, determinative keystone, the power of the Supreme Court over unconstitutional legislation.

But I have heard it said in speeches, and you will hear it said in the streets here in Philadelphia within two years from now as you have heard it in the last campaign, "Why, no other government requires this. Look at England, see how secure property and individual rights and privileges of minorities are in England, and there the courts cannot touch a law, an act of Parliament."

Well, that looks like a very powerful argument, almost unanswerable, doesn't it? That is all true, but has democracy had its test in Great Britain yet? Has the final trial come? What is the cause of the security of property, individual rights and the rights of minorities in England? Why, Hume tells us away back there; Macauley tells us, Professor Dicey, who died last year, tells us, and we all know it is due to the prevision and sagacity, the restraint and moderation of the hereditary statesmen of Great Britain, the most remarkable body of men who have ever, generation after generation through the centuries, guided the policies of an empire or presided over the well-being of a people.

But their power in domestic affairs is passing rapidly. The overthrow began under Asquith and Lloyd George in 1911. I read with horror every line of that epochal debate. Five years, ten years at the most, and these men's power in domestic affairs will have ended. They still control foreign affairs; it is well for the British Empire that they do; that is the reason why I am so afraid of having a diplomatic engagement with them, they are so very able. In domestic affairs, however, their reign is nearly over, and then, friends, when it is, when that restraint, moderation, balance and wisdom is gone, and when the time, swiftly approaching, comes that the majority of the moment, frothing with envy or prejudice or hatred or call it what you like, can register its will in an act of Parliament, which no court can touch, then the test will finally come; then we will see what will

happen to private property or the rights of minorities and the security of individuals in England.

And so I am convinced that when the tale shall finally be told and the comparison finally made, it will be found that the American Constitution, with all its defects, is nevertheless the wisest plan of government, not only for the administration of justice but the preservation of human liberty, ever devised by the prevision and sagacity of men. [Applause.]

Another thing I want to say, and then I am done, and this I say with all seriousness: I am never alarmed—I was not alarmed about this campaign, not for a minute; I see these things in history come and go—and everybody is saying, “A crisis is here,” every time—like a procession of automobiles. But there is one thing that does give me concern, because it is dangerous and it is so subtle. I hardly find anybody any more who wants to stand by American institutions, all American institutions, not merely some. I hardly find anybody any more who believes in the Constitution, all the Constitution, not merely some of the Constitution. I have some radical friends, for instance, good men, sincere men, able men, but they really believe that in the interest of the public, the property guaranty and contract guaranty of the Constitution should be overturned, and they have tried to do it. They say “In the interest of the public let property be devoted to public uses,” but they say, “We want our rights of free speech.”

Then I have some reactionary friends and they are just as good as the radicals; you know the radical and the reactionary is just the same type of mind, exactly the same type of mind, both fanatics, opposite sides of the same shield. Your reactionary would put everybody in jail that did not agree with him; and your radical would hang everybody that did not agree with him.

Some of these reactionary friends say, “Oh, maintain

the property guaranties of the Constitution; the whole of our civilization is founded on them; the sacredness of contract is fundamental." They are right, but along comes the radical, and he says something they don't like, so my reactionary friends want to get rid of the free speech provision in the Constitution.

Then, there comes this question of search and seizure. For fear that you do not know the language of our Constitution and where it comes from, I will repeat it; it says, "The right of the people"—isn't that a great phrase, the right of the people—"to be secure in their persons"—that means your body, you know, your clothes—"houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated; and no warrant shall issue but upon probable cause supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or thing to be seized."

That is a provision of our Constitution. Very well, suppose Congress does, as it has tried to do, and several States have tried to do, destroy that provision? Where did it come from? There was a very long, tragic and picturesque history back of that provision, where kings entered men's houses, seized their persons, stripped the clothes from their bodies, took their effects and their papers. Our forefathers said, "We are establishing a nation of free men here; that cannot occur," and the reason that cannot occur is merely that we are a free people; the Supreme Court alone preserves that to us.

Now, my proposition is this, my friends: We must all be equally devoted to every provision of the American Constitution or the whole thing will go. [Applause.] If the radicals could have their way and destroy the provision that guarantees property and contract, and if the reactionaries could have their way when they are in the majority and free speech is destroyed, and some other little group could have their way, and the pro-

vision against search and seizure is wiped out, pretty soon you would have no Constitution left.

In this great scheme, one provision depends upon the other; it is the product not of men who were inspired, but of centuries of effort, of human life, of struggle, of battle and bloodshed.

It is a great system of human liberty that is involved. These little attacks upon the Constitution such as the proposed amendments that I have discussed do not concern me; I know perfectly well that all we have to do is to go out and simply present them to the people, but when I see this group insisting that that provision of the Constitution shall be put aside so that their pet theory may be put through, and another group saying that the fundamentals of human liberty shall be suppressed because they are not agreeable to them, and hear another group saying that the property qualifications shall be wiped out for the benefit of the public interest, then I do see forces at work which will undermine the structure on which rests this government of free men and women.

I did not mean when I began to get in the least excited or energetic, but somehow I have been swept along; you have listened so patiently. There is a spirit behind the whole thing that to me is bigger than mere words; I see in it all of our tremendous history, brief but glorious, from the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, the signing of the Mayflower Compact, on down to Abraham Lincoln and to now. It is not a mere form of words to which we swear allegiance, it is more than that; it is a great spirit made articulate and intelligent; it is the thing upon which depends our happiness, our freedom, our security, and the well-being of our children and of their children. [Applause.]

MR. STOTESBURY.—Mr. President, I move that a vote of thanks be extended to Senator Beveridge for this eloquent, interesting and entertaining address this evening.

[Motion seconded.]

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, Mr. Stotesbury has offered a motion that a vote of thanks be extended to Senator Beveridge for his scholarly, brilliant and illuminating address. All in favor of the motion give their consent by saying aye. It is unanimous. I would just like to announce before we adjourn that Senator Beveridge has consented to hold a brief reception in the Lincoln Memorial room where members of the League who desire may have the pleasure of meeting him. The meeting is now adjourned.

ANNUAL REPORT
of the
FINANCE COMMITTEE

October 31, 1924.

*To the President and Board of Directors of
The Union League of Philadelphia.*

GENTLEMEN:—Your Finance Committee has the honor to submit its report for the fiscal year ending October 31, 1924.

The detailed statements of Income Account and Permanent Fund are shown in the report of the Treasurer. From the Permanent Fund (receipts from entrance fees and life membership fees) payments amounting to \$50,000 have been made in reduction of our bonded indebtedness, leaving amount of bonds outstanding \$310,000.

The budgets of the several Committees, estimating the income and expenditures of each for the current year, were submitted to, and carefully considered by your Committee, which were recommended to the Board of Directors, approved by them and the appropriations made.

It is gratifying to report that each Committee confined its expenditures within its budget, leaving a slight balance of receipts over expenses, indicating the wisdom of establishing the budget system.

The usual quarterly audits of the accounts of the Treasurer have been made and found correct.

The annual expenditures substantially in excess of \$1,000,000, by your organization, require careful and thoughtful consideration by your Treasurer and the various Committees.

The balance in the reserve for maintenance and depreciation on buildings and furnishings account, to the

amount of \$10,000, has been invested in U. S. Fourth 4¼ per cent Liberty Loan Bonds. The par value of the bonds held for this account now amounts to \$23,200.

The League is to be congratulated upon its excellent financial condition.

Respectfully submitted on behalf of the Finance Committee.

JOHN T. RILEY,
Chairman.

ANNUAL REPORT
of the
LIBRARY COMMITTEE

October 31, 1924.

*To the President and Board of Directors of
The Union League of Philadelphia.*

GENTLEMEN:—Your Library Committee has the honor to submit the following report:

During the past year the Library has maintained its steady growth along the broad lines laid down by its founders. The total accessions number 444 volumes, of which 239 were purchased, at a cost of \$791.33, and 205 were acquired by gift. Among the latter the most noteworthy were those of our fellow members, Mr. W. M. Sterrett, amounting to 133 volumes, covering a great variety of subjects; and of Mr. Thomas W. Andrews. A list of many others to whom we are much indebted, is appended. A long-felt want had been supplied, in an up-to-date set of maps, which the House Committee has had handsomely mounted on rollers.

Suggestions of desirable books have always been welcome, and your Committee has introduced a convenient plan for receiving them, a box placed in the library, designed and presented by Mr. J. Harry Mull, provided with suitable cards, which may be obtained from the librarian. Our accumulation of old periodicals, and one hundred discarded novels, have been sent to the Philadelphia County Prison.

The only changes in our subscription list of periodicals have been the addition of *Auction Bridge*, a monthly, and, *The Army and Navy Register*, weekly.

The present number of volumes, allowing for discards, is 19,237.

The accessions may be classified as follows:

	<i>Purchase</i>	<i>Gift</i>	<i>Total</i>
Works of Reference.....	9	12	21
History.....	29	24	53
Biography.....	45	19	64
Travels.....	10	6	16
Fiction.....	80	33	113
Fine Arts and Useful Arts.....	8	29	37
Science.....	9	4	13
Belles Lettres.....	32	33	65
Politics and Sociology.....	13	15	28
Philosophy and Religion.....	4	6	10
Reports of United States and State Departments.....	0	24	24
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	239	205	444
Pamphlets received.....			127
Volumes bound.....			67

The annual appropriation has been expended as follows:

Annual allowance.....	\$8,500.00
Books.....	\$408.80
Papers and periodicals.....	3,971.78
Binding.....	144.50
Maps.....	232.00
Magazine cases.....	25.05
Stationery and printing.....	86.40
Salaries.....	3,062.50
House account.....	294.79
	<hr/>
	8,225.82
Balance.....	<hr/>
	\$274.18

The net income from the Pepper Fund, including a balance of \$119.68 from last year, was \$490.31, of which \$382.53 has been expended for books (102 volumes), leaving a balance of \$107.78.

Some further particulars will be found in an appendix.
Respectfully submitted on behalf of the Committee.

J. WARNER HUTCHINS,
Chairman.

APPENDIX TO REPORT OF LIBRARY COMMITTEE

SUMMARY OF PAPERS AND PERIODICALS

	<i>By Subscription</i>	<i>By Donation</i>
American dailies.....	25	3
American and foreign weeklies.....	51	9
American and foreign monthlies and quarterlies	46	40
Total.....	174	

LIST OF PRINCIPAL DONORS

United States Government	Keystone Automobile Club
Pennsylvania State Library	Hon. Norris S. Barratt
New Jersey State Library	Hon. George P. Darrow
Smithsonian Institution	Hon. Daniel C. Herr
Carnegie Endowment	Hon. Charles L. Brown
Franklin Institute	Hon. J. Hampton Moore
University of Pennsylvania	Hon. Clinton Rogers Woodruff
Princeton University	Hon. William T. Read
University of Delaware	Rev. Dr. E. W. Rice
Columbia University	Prof. H. P. Willis
Jefferson Hospital	Clarence Bartlett, M.D.
American Institute of Home- opathy	Dr. Edgar Fahs Smith
Jewish Publication Society of America	Dr. W. A. N. Dorland
Christian Science Publishing Society	Mr. W. M. Sterrett
Friends' Peace Committee	Mr. Thomas W. Andrews
Philadelphia Board of Trade	Mr. H. C. Thiselton
Philadelphia Chamber of Com- merce	Mr. D. L. Anderson
Philadelphia Maritime Exchange	Mr. J. Harry Mull
Fidelity Trust Company	Mr. Robert M. Green, Jr.
Girard Trust Company	Mr. Harrold E. Gillingham
Corn Exchange National Bank	Mr. Rodman Wanamaker
Penn National Bank	Mr. Charles J. Cohen
American Telegraph and Tele- phone Company	Mr. Horace M. Lippincott
Consulat de France	Mr. David Milne
New England Society of Penn- sylvania	Mr. H. Boardman Hopper
	Mr. Otto H. Kahn
	Mr. Will B. Hadley
	Mr. William P. Gest
	Mr. Herman L. Collins
	Mr. F. Carroll Brewster, Jr.
	Mr. James G. Rittenhouse

THE UNION LEAGUE
OF PHILADELPHIA



ANNUAL REPORT

1925

THE UNION LEAGUE

OF PHILADELPHIA

OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS ELECTED
DECEMBER 14, 1925

STANDING COMMITTEES

THE ADVISORY REAL ESTATE BOARD

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING
DECEMBER 14, 1925

SIXTY-THIRD ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BOARD OF
DIRECTORS

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

REPORT OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE

REPORT OF THE GUEST COMMITTEE

REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE

REPORT OF THE LIBRARY COMMITTEE

1925

BROAD STREET
BETWEEN CHESTNUT AND WALNUT STREETS

Founded November 22, 1862

Organized December 27, 1862

Incorporated March 30, 1864

House, 1118 Chestnut Street, opened January 22, 1863

House, 1216 Chestnut Street, opened August 18, 1864

Broad Street Building opened May 11, 1865

Fifteenth Street Building opened November 14, 1910

Middle Section opened December 2, 1911

OFFICERS

ELECTED DECEMBER 14, 1925

PRESIDENT

WILLIAM C. SPROUL

VICE-PRESIDENTS

BAYARD HENRY

WILLIAM G. PRICE, JR.

MELVILLE G. BAKER

MIERS BUSCH

DIRECTORS

HAROLD B. BEITLER

HORACE C. JONES

E. LAWRENCE FELL

WILLIAM J. MONTGOMERY

CHARLES E. ROBERTS

GEORGE STUART PATTERSON

J. HARRY MULL

WILLIAM L. SUPPLEE

W. KIRKLAND DWIER

WILLIAM H. FOLWELL

CHARLES P. VAUGHAN

CHARLES J. WEBB

WALTER P. SHARP

WILLIAM C. L. EGLIN

LOUIS J. KOLB

ELECTED BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
DECEMBER 15, 1925

SECRETARY

HAROLD B. BEITLER

TREASURER

E. LAWRENCE FELL

STANDING COMMITTEES

APPOINTED DECEMBER 15, 1925

PRESIDENT WILLIAM C. SPROUL

Ex-Officio Member of all Committees

HOUSE COMMITTEE

VICE-PRESIDENT MIERS BUSCH, *Chairman*

E. LAWRENCE FELL	WALTER P. SHARP
CHARLES E. ROBERTS	WILLIAM H. FOLWELL

GUEST COMMITTEE

VICE-PRESIDENT BAYARD HENRY, *Chairman*

HAROLD B. BEITLER	WILLIAM C. L. EGLIN
GEO. STUART PATTERSON	LOUIS J. KOLB

FINANCE COMMITTEE

VICE-PRESIDENT MELVILLE G. BAKER, *Chairman*

W. KIRKLAND DWIER	CHARLES P. VAUGHAN
HORACE C. JONES	CHARLES J. WEBB

LIBRARY COMMITTEE

VICE-PRESIDENT WILLIAM G. PRICE, JR., *Chairman*

J. HARRY MULL	WILLIAM L. SUPPLEE
WILLIAM J. MONTGOMERY	LOUIS J. KOLB

ELECTED BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

AUDITORS

W. HARRY MILLER	WILLIAM A. POWELL
JAMES V. ELLISON	

COMMITTEE ON MEMBERSHIP

FRANK VAN RODEN	HOWARD S. WILLIAMS
WILLIAM H. KINGSLEY	JAY GATES
WILLIAM E. AREY	WILLIAM M. DAVISON, JR.
JOHN C. JONES	MILLARD D. BROWN
DAVID HALSTEAD	JOHN GILBERT
WALTER CLOTHIER	THOMAS DEVELON, JR.
FRANKLIN R. MAXWELL	

ELECTED BY THE COMMITTEE ON MEMBERSHIP

FRANK VAN RODEN	WILLIAM E. AREY
<i>Chairman</i>	<i>Secretary</i>

THE ADVISORY REAL ESTATE BOARD

¹ SAMUEL S. SHARP	⁵ WILLIAM C. SPROUL
² EDWARD T. STOTESBURY	⁶ JOHN GRIBBEL
³ DIMNER BEEBER	⁷ EDWIN S. STUART
⁴ GEORGE B. EVANS	⁸ CARROLL R. WILLIAMS
⁹ E. PUSEY PASSMORE	

CHAIRMAN

EDWARD T. STOTESBURY

- ¹ Elected by the Corporation, March 22, 1897.
- ² Elected by Board of Directors { February 9, 1897.
April 14, 1908.
- ³ Elected by Board of Directors, December 15, 1908.
- ⁴ Elected by Board of Directors, December 12, 1916.
- ⁵ Elected by the Corporation, December 8, 1919.
- ⁶ Elected by the Corporation, December 13, 1920.
- ⁷ Elected by the Corporation, December 8, 1924.
- ⁸ Elected by Board of Directors, December 9, 1924.
- ⁹ Elected by Board of Directors, December 15, 1925.

ANNUAL MEETING
OF
THE UNION LEAGUE OF PHILADELPHIA

Philadelphia, December 14, 1925.

The Sixty-third Annual Meeting of The Union League of Philadelphia was held this evening at eight o'clock.

President E. Pusey Passmore presided and Harold B. Beitler acted as Secretary.

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, the hour of the meeting having arrived and a quorum being present, I will ask the Secretary to read the call for the meeting.

THE SECRETARY.—

December 1, 1925.

To the Members:

The Annual Meeting of The Union League will be held on Monday evening, December 14, 1925, at 8 o'clock.

The polls for the election of officers and directors will be opened at 2 P. M. and remain open until 8 P. M.

THE PRESIDENT.—This is the annual meeting of the corporation. The first business on the program is the reading of the minutes of the last annual meeting.

COLONEL FRED TAYLOR PUSEY.—Mr. President, inasmuch as the minutes of the annual meeting held December 8, 1924, were printed and distributed to the members, I move that the reading be dispensed with and that they be approved and made a part of the minutes of this meeting.

THE SECRETARY.—May I say a word about that, Mr. President? At the meeting last December, those of you who were here will recall there was quite a little discussion as to the form of an amendment to the By-Laws,

regarding the waiting list and the taking of the names off the waiting list for membership. It was agreed by those present as to the substance of that amendment, and the wording of the amendment to the By-Laws was left to me as secretary of that meeting. I did not include the draft of the amended By-Laws in the minutes as printed, because I felt that, from my own standpoint, I preferred to submit them to a meeting of the corporation, for your approval and for authority to include them in the minutes of last year's meeting; and with your permission, I will read the form we have prepared to fit in with what was done last year:

ACTIVE MEMBERS

Their Admission

12. Any male citizen of the United States, of more than twenty-one years of age, who shall have been proposed on or before December 8, 1924, by one active or life member, and seconded by another active or life member, in writing, and whose name, address and occupation, and the date of whose proposal and the names of whose proposer and seconder shall have been recorded in the "Register of Candidates for Membership," and shall have been posted on the Bulletin Board of the League for at least thirty days, and who, after the expiration of such period, shall have been reported by the Committee on Membership with a favorable recommendation, may at any stated meeting be admitted by the Board of Directors as an active member.

Any male citizen of the United States who shall have been proposed after December 8, 1924, by one active or life member, and seconded by another active or life member, in writing, and whose name, address and occupation, and the date of whose proposal and the names of whose proposer and seconder shall have been recorded in the "Register of Candidates for Membership," and shall have been posted on the Bulletin Board of the League for at least thirty days, and who, after the expiration of such period, shall have been reported by the Committee on Membership with a favorable recommendation, may at any stated meeting be admitted by the Board of Directors as an active member, provided he is at that time not less than twenty-five years of age. Provided further, that any person who, having been a member of The Union League of Philadelphia, and who has resigned there-

from honorably and without having had charges preferred against him, and any person who was in active service in the army or navy of the United States in the War of the Rebellion and was honorably discharged therefrom, shall, upon application, have his name placed at the head of the list of candidates for admission, and, if elected, shall pay the treasurer the entrance fee and annual tax provided in Section 13 of the By-Laws. Provided further, that any member so elected shall be in addition to the number of active members authorized in Section 9.

I ask that that be approved as part of the minutes of that meeting.

THE PRESIDENT.—Will you include this amendment to the By-Laws in your motion, Colonel Pusey?

COLONEL FRED TAYLOR PUSEY.—I understand that is the record of the minute as the Secretary has made it, so that my motion includes the approval of that minute.

THE PRESIDENT.—Will that be accepted by the seconder?

THE SECONDER.—I will accept that.

The motion was duly seconded and upon being put to a vote was carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT.—The next item on the program is the report of the Board of Directors.

MR. J. HOWARD REBER.—Mr. President, as the report of the Board of Directors has been printed and circulated among the members, I move that the reading be dispensed with and that it be approved and made a part of the proceedings of this meeting.

The motion was duly seconded and upon being put to a vote was unanimously carried.

THE PRESIDENT.—The next order of business is the report of the Treasurer and Auditors.

MR. DAVID HALSTEAD.—Mr. President, I move, inasmuch as the report of the Treasurer and Auditors has been printed and distributed among the members, that the reading be dispensed with and that it be approved and made a part of the proceedings of this meeting.

The motion was duly seconded and upon being put to a vote was unanimously carried.

THE PRESIDENT. — Vice-President Baker, will you please take the Chair a moment?

Vice-President Baker thereupon took the Chair.

VICE-PRESIDENT BAKER.—It looks to me as though I am called upon to conduct a memorial service, which seems to be an important part of the proceedings at this time. I am very glad to have it for the living rather than the dead. It is usual, at the annual meeting of the League, to express its appreciation to those officers and directors who are about to retire from the management. The Chair will recognize Judge McDevitt.

HONORABLE HARRY S. McDEVITT.—Mr. Chairman:

Whereas, Mr. E. Pusey Passmore having declined to serve longer as President; and

Whereas, Messrs. William R. Lyman and John T. Riley having declined to serve longer as Vice-Presidents; and

Whereas, Messrs. Wm. Henry Smedley, Edgar G. Cross, Charles R. Miller and William G. Price, Jr., having declined to serve longer as Directors; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the thanks of The Union League be and hereby are extended to the above-named gentlemen for the faithful and efficient services rendered by them during the incumbency of their respective offices.

The motion was duly seconded and upon being put to a vote was unanimously carried.

The President thereupon resumed the Chair.

THE PRESIDENT.—New business is now in order. Mr. Secretary, will you be good enough to read the proposed amendments to the By-Laws recommended by the Board of Directors, which have been posted thirty days on the bulletin board?

THE SECRETARY.

(1) *Resolved*, That Section 9 of the By-Laws be amended to read as follows:

“9. There shall not be at any time more than ten honorary members, nor more than three thousand active members, nor

more than one hundred and fifty life members, exclusive of Civil War Veterans who are life members, under the provisions of Section 14 of the By-Laws."

(2) *Resolved*, That Section 14 of the By-Laws be amended by the addition of the following:

"All active members who are Civil War Veterans, and whose names appear upon the Memorial Tablets of The Union League, and who are in good standing on November 1, 1925, shall be transferred as of that date to the roll of life members, with the rights and subject to the liabilities of other life members as prescribed by Section 15 of the By-Laws, with the exception that such Civil War Veterans shall be exempt from the assessment of one thousand dollars specified in Section 15 of the By-Laws."

(3) *Resolved*, That Section 15 of the By-Laws be amended so that the same shall read as follows:

"15. Every life member (except Civil War Veterans, as provided by Section 14 of the By-Laws) shall, within thirty days after his admission as such, pay to the Treasurer the sum of one thousand dollars, and he shall thereafter not be required to pay any annual tax, dues or assessments, and he shall thereafter have in all other respects the rights and be subject to the liabilities of active members."

THE PRESIDENT.—The Chair will recognize Mr. George Stuart Patterson, who is Chairman of the Committee having this matter in hand.

MR. GEORGE STUART PATTERSON.—Mr. President and gentlemen, these amendments provide, in substance, that the existing life memberships of the League shall be increased by adding thereto, without dues or assessments, twenty-six Civil War Veterans who are on the active roll of the League. I need not remind you gentlemen that The Union League was not formed as a social club but was organized for the purpose of the maintenance and preservation of the Union, and it is therefore fitting that we should pay some slight recognition to those who offered their lives in support of the maintenance of the principles upon which this League was founded. Now, Mr. President, in so doing, we do not honor those twenty-six men; they need no further honor than is carried with

their title of Civil War Veterans, but in adopting these amendments we do honor The Union League and its members and we emphasize a fact that none of us should ever lose sight of, that The Union League and the history of The Union League are an inseparable part of the history of our country. I therefore move, sir, the adoption of the amendments. [Applause.]

- THE PRESIDENT.—Do I hear a second to the resolutions? [Resolutions seconded.]

THE PRESIDENT.—The resolutions, as seconded, are now before the meeting. What is your pleasure, gentlemen? Are you ready for the question? If so, we will proceed to a vote, and under the By-Laws it will be necessary for the members to pass between the tellers and be counted, because to adopt a two-thirds vote in favor is required. I will ask Mr. William K. Haupt and Mr. William A. Dyer to be good enough to act as tellers.

[Messrs. Haupt and Dyer thereupon acted as tellers and the vote proceeded.]

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, I am very glad to announce that the vote has been unanimous. Is there any other new business, Mr. Secretary?

THE SECRETARY.—I have nothing, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT.—There is no other new business and a motion to recess until the tellers bring in their report, which will likely be about nine o'clock, will be in order.

The motion was duly seconded and upon being put to a vote was unanimously carried.

[The meeting thereupon recessed until nine o'clock P. M.]

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, the meeting will please come to order. The report of the tellers has been received and I will ask the Secretary to read it.

THE SECRETARY.—

To the President and Board of Directors of The Union League of Philadelphia:

GENTLEMEN: The tellers appointed to conduct the election for Officers and Directors beg leave to report that 1,775 ballots were cast, of which 25 were irregular as to markings, being without the required cross mark, and not counted; 3 irregular as to President and 5 irregular as to Directors, the balance being counted.

The respective candidates received the number of votes set opposite their names.

W. HARRY MILLER,
Chairman.

GEORGE T. Gwilliam	THOMAS H. ASHTON
MALCOLM G. CAMPBELL	HERBERT K. TAYLOR
JOHN K. WILLIAMS	DAVIS L. LEWIS
WILLIAM A. POWELL	CHARLES J. MAXWELL
HENRY T. PAISTE	JAMES V. ELLISON
WALTER T. BRADLEY	WILLIAM K. WILSON
HENRY H. HORROCKS	WILLIAM H. STUART

President:

William C. Sproul.....	932
William W. Porter.....	807

Vice-Presidents:

William G. Price, Jr.....	1,470
Bayard Henry.....	1,453
Melville G. Baker.....	1,469
Miers Busch.....	1,461

Directors:

William C. L. Eglin.....	947
William H. Kingsley.....	855
Frank R. Savidge.....	596
Harold B. Beitler.....	1,274
W. Kirkland Dwier.....	1,014

Charles E. Roberts.....	1,132
Charles J. Webb.....	956
George Stuart Patterson.....	1,104
Carroll R. Williams.....	704
D. L. Anderson.....	817
J. Harry Mull.....	951
Edward C. Dixon.....	584
Louis J. Kolb.....	901
Walter P. Sharp.....	997
Charles P. Vaughan.....	1,068
William L. Supplee.....	1,160
Charles H. Ewing.....	666
Horace C. Jones.....	1,034
William J. Montgomery.....	973
William H. Folwell.....	965
E. Lawrence Fell....	1,230

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, the Secretary will now read the names of those who have been elected.

THE SECRETARY.—Those elected, Mr. President, are:

President: WILLIAM C. SPROUL; *Vice-Presidents:* WILLIAM G. PRICE, JR., BAYARD HENRY, MELVILLE G. BAKER, MIERS BUSCH; *Directors:* WILLIAM C. L. EGLIN, HAROLD B. BEITLER, W. KIRKLAND DWIER, CHARLES E. ROBERTS, CHARLES J. WEBB, GEORGE STUART PATTERSON, J. HARRY MULL, LOUIS J. KOLB, WALTER P. SHARP, CHARLES P. VAUGHAN, WILLIAM L. SUPPLEE, HORACE C. JONES, WILLIAM J. MONTGOMERY, WILLIAM H. FOLWELL, E. LAWRENCE FELL.

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, you have heard the names of the successful candidates read, whom I now declare elected for the ensuing year.

MR. J. HOWARD REBER.—At the request of Judge Porter and by reason of his absence, I move that the election of William C. Sproul as President be made unanimous. [Applause.]

The motion was duly seconded and upon being put to a vote was unanimously carried.

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, I would like to say, before I dismiss this meeting, that I cannot do so without expressing a word of appreciation for the splendid support given the administration during the last two years by the members of this organization. If we have been able to accomplish anything worth while, it has been due to that support and the excellent efforts of my fellow members on the Board and the various Committees of that Board. [Applause.]

It is a great delight to me, as my last official act, to turn the gavel over to a member of The Union League who has served us exceptionally well once before, a member under whose leadership we may expect, with confidence, an administration in keeping with the best traditions of The Union League. [Applause.]

While perhaps no member is acquainted with a larger number of his fellow members of the League than Governor Sproul, nevertheless, in the natural order of things, the high official positions he has held have made him better known to you than you could possibly be to him. Therefore, it gives me very great pleasure to present you to our new President, William Cameron Sproul.

GOVERNOR SPROUL.—Mr. President and fellow members of The Union League: I think that in this house of traditions, this proceeding is a bit irregular. I do not recall a President having been introduced in just this way at the elections held heretofore. Perhaps had the result been different, I might have insisted upon the opportunity being given me to make some remarks, but at the least I must say that the opportunity of speaking at this time is entirely unexpected.

I feel that I am greatly honored, and all I can say is I yield to no one in my veneration for this institution, in my respect for its record and traditions, and in my

confidence in its future of usefulness not only to its membership but to the State and nation for which it stands.

I shall do my best to merit the honor and distinction which you have shown me and for which I thank you most heartily. I appreciate too the opportunity of serving with the particularly capable and distinguished group of men whom you have called into the management of The Union League at this time. I am sure that it will be their endeavor, as I know it will be mine, to give you the service and the devotion which you expect.

I thank you sincerely. [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT.—A motion to adjourn is in order.

On motion, duly made and seconded, the meeting adjourned.

HAROLD B. BEITLER,

Secretary.

SIXTY-THIRD ANNUAL REPORT
of the
BOARD OF DIRECTORS
of
THE UNION LEAGUE OF PHILADELPHIA

October 31, 1925.

To the Members of the Union League of Philadelphia:

GENTLEMEN:—Pursuant to the provisions of the By-Laws, your Board of Directors presents its report for the year ending October 31, 1925, together with the report of the Treasurer and the reports of the House, Guest, Finance and Library Committees for the same period.

The Board organized on the evening following the election and by unanimous vote elected Harold B. Beitler Secretary and re-elected James E. Mitchell Treasurer.

The President appointed the following standing committees:

HOUSE COMMITTEE.—Vice President William R. Lyman, Chairman; James E. Mitchell, Wm. Henry Smedley, Charles E. Roberts and E. Lawrence Fell.

GUEST COMMITTEE.—Vice President Bayard Henry, Chairman; Harold B. Beitler, Edgar G. Cross, Charles R. Miller and George Stuart Patterson.

FINANCE COMMITTEE.—Vice President Melville G. Baker, Chairman; W. Kirkland Dwier, Horace C. Jones, Walter P. Sharp and Charles P. Vaughan.

LIBRARY COMMITTEE.—Vice President J. Warner Hutchins, Chairman; Edgar G. Cross, J. Harry Mull, D. L. Anderson and William J. Montgomery.

The following gentlemen were elected to serve as Auditors and on the Committee on Membership:

AUDITORS.—W. Harry Miller, William A. Powell and James V. Ellison.

COMMITTEE ON MEMBERSHIP.—Frank van Roden, William L. Supplee, William H. Kingsley, William E. Arey, John C. Jones, David Halstead, Walter Clothier, William C. L. Eglin, Howard S. Williams, Jay Gates, William M. Davison, Jr., Millard D. Brown and John Gilbert.

Stated meetings of your Board were held each month during the year and special meetings were held on February 5, 1925, and on April 21, 1925.

At the stated meeting of the Board held November 11, 1924, the following minute was adopted on the death of former President C. Stuart Patterson:

The Board of Directors of The Union League of Philadelphia records with deep sorrow the death on November 8, 1924, of Christopher Stuart Patterson, soldier, lawyer, author, educator, banker, business man, patriot.

Mr. Patterson was born in Philadelphia June 24, 1842. He was educated at Germantown and Lawrenceville Academies and the University of Pennsylvania. He served with distinction in the Union ranks during the Civil War in Landis' Battery. He was wounded at Carlisle while in that service.

After his military service, Mr. Patterson was admitted to the Bar in 1865, having studied under the tutelage of Chief Justice Sharswood, Judge William A. Porter and Theodore Cuyler. His success was marked and his progress steady. In 1887 he succeeded E. Coppée Mitchell as Professor of the Law of Real Property and Conveyancing at the University of Pennsylvania and subsequently succeeded Judge Hare as Professor of Constitutional Law. He was for many years Dean of the Law School. He wrote much and was the author of several authoritative legal works.

In 1893 Mr. Patterson retired from active practice to become Vice President of the Western Saving Fund Society. He became President of that institution in 1901 and continued to serve in that capacity until his death. He was also an organizer and for a time the President of the Commercial Trust Company, now the Bank of North America and Trust Company.

In 1895 Mr. Patterson became a Director of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company and served in that capacity from that time until his death.

Mr. Patterson was a man of great ability in all his many lines of activity. His ability as a financier was recognized in many ways. In 1897 he was appointed by President

McKinley a member of the Monetary Commission, of which he subsequently became Chairman.

Mr. Patterson was an ardent supporter of the principles of the Republican Party and for many years took an active interest in the campaign. He became a member of The Union League of Philadelphia on March 10, 1892; served as Director in 1894, 1895, 1896 and 1916; as Secretary in 1896 and as President in 1897 and 1898. In all of these capacities he gave to the League the benefit of his great ability and experience and consistent devotion to duty. In addition to his many and diversified activities in the world of business, Mr. Patterson was a sportsman of rare attainments and wide interests.

The Board of Directors pays this final tribute of respect to the man for whom the entire membership of the League has entertained for so many years a deep feeling of admiration and affection and directs the Secretary to incorporate this minute in the records of this meeting and cause a copy thereof to be appropriately engrossed and delivered to the family of Mr. Patterson.

At the special meeting held on February 5, 1925, the following minute was adopted on the death of Vice-President J. Warner Hutchins:

With deep sorrow the Board of Directors of The Union League of Philadelphia records the death on February 4, 1925, of Colonel J. Warner Hutchins, who became a member of The Union League September 27, 1899.

Born in Vermont, he spent practically his entire life in Philadelphia. He was educated in the public schools of this city, and after graduating from the Central High School entered the jewelry business with his uncle, John Hutchins, and remained in that business until his retirement in 1919. He was recognized for many years as an expert in precious stones.

Colonel Hutchins served as Director of The Union League in 1921, 1922 and 1923, and as Vice President in 1924 and until the time of his death.

He served as a member of the Board of Inspectors of the Philadelphia County Prisons from 1906 until September 8, 1924, and as Secretary of that Board from February 8, 1915, until his retirement. During his service as a member of this Board, he studied penal institutions throughout the world and became one of the recognized authorities on subjects connected with such institutions.

Colonel Hutchins served as Aide-de-Camp with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel on the staffs of Governors Pennypacker, Stuart, Tener and Brumbaugh. By the latter he was appointed Deputy Quartermaster General of the National Guard of Pennsylvania, in which position he served with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. He saw service on the Mexican Border in 1916, and subsequently assisted the Adjutant General of Pennsylvania in the arduous duties connected with the administration of the Selective Service Law.

Colonel Hutchins was active for more than half a century in Masonic affairs and served as Grand Marshal under several Grand Masters.

He was active in many charities, particularly those in which the St. Andrews Society was interested.

In the latter years of his life Colonel Hutchins devoted much of his time to travel in foreign countries.

Constant in association with his friends at the League House, the loss of his genial presence will be deeply felt.

He was a leader among men, charitable, kind, generous, thoughtful and considerate, a help and comfort to every one with whom he came in contact.

The Board desires to convey to the family of Colonel Hutchins this brief testimonial of their sympathy, their appreciation of the faithful service rendered by him and their deep sense of loss by reason of his death.

At the special meeting held April 21, 1925, the following minute was adopted on the death of James E. Mitchell, Treasurer:

The Board of Directors of The Union League of Philadelphia records with deep sorrow the great loss suffered by it and by its members in the death on Sunday, April 19, 1925, of James Evans Mitchell, for nineteen years a member of the Board and of the House Committee, and for fifteen years Treasurer of the League.

Born in Cecil County, Maryland, June 4, 1841, Mr. Mitchell came to Philadelphia in 1855. After filling various positions in mercantile houses, he organized in 1871 the James E. Mitchell Company to deal in cotton yarns and continued in that business until his death. In 1879 he was one of the organizers of the Bell Telephone Company and became a member of its Board of Directors and its first Treasurer. In 1889 he became Vice President of the Bell Telephone Company and in 1895 President of that Company and of the Delaware and Atlantic Telephone Company, both of which

positions he held until 1903. He continued as a Director of the Bell Telephone Company until the time of his death.

He was one of the organizers of the Ninth National Bank and of the consolidated company now known as the Ninth Bank and Trust Company.

He became a member of The Union League of Philadelphia September 24, 1880, was elected a Director in December, 1906, and Treasurer May 10, 1910.

Pioneer, merchant, banker, counsellor, companion of sunny disposition, ready wit, faithful in everything, loyal and true friend and beloved of men, devoted husband and father, true Christian gentleman and Churchman, by his death The Union League of Philadelphia has lost one of its most popular members, than whom the organization never had a more faithful officer, and the members of the Board have lost a loyal and dear friend, the absence of whose cheery greeting, ready smile and assistance will be ever recurrent cause for sorrow.

At the meeting held October 13, 1925, the following minute was adopted on the death of John W. Hamer:

The Board of Directors records with deep sorrow the great loss suffered by The Union League of Philadelphia and its members in the death of John W. Hamer, who became a member April 20, 1892, and served as a member of the Board of Directors from 1908 to 1924 and as Secretary from October 10, 1911, until December 8, 1924.

Mr. Hamer was born in Sheffield, England, February 23, 1849, and came to Philadelphia as a boy. He entered the employ of The Penn Mutual Life Insurance Company when twenty-six years of age. In 1888 he was appointed Manager of the Loan Department, having charge of the real estate mortgage investments of that company. In 1913 he became Third Vice President and in 1921 Vice President. On June 1, 1925, he completed a half century of continuous and faithful service with that company.

For forty years he lived in Beverly, New Jersey, on the banks of the Delaware, where he died September 1, 1925.

He was a true sportsman, an ardent quail hunter and excellent shot, and a lover of bird dogs.

He was a staunch Republican, and during all the years of his connection with The Union League gave faithful and loyal service to it and to the Republican Party.

By his death The Union League of Philadelphia has lost a member who for many years was a most faithful officer, its

members have lost one of the best loved of their number, and the community has lost a most useful and respected citizen.

The members of the Board of Directors, feeling the loss of a dear friend who was a member of the Board for seventeen years, direct that this minute of regret be incorporated in the minutes of this meeting.

At the meeting of the Board held February 10, 1925, John T. Riley was elected a Vice-President to fill the unexpired term of J. Warner Hutchins, deceased, and was appointed Chairman of the Library Committee to fill the existing vacancy.

At the meeting held May 12, 1925, William G. Price, Jr., was elected a Director to fill the unexpired term of James E. Mitchell, deceased, and E. Lawrence Fell was elected Treasurer to fill the existing vacancy. General Price was appointed a member of the Finance Committee and Walter P. Sharp was transferred from the Finance Committee to the House Committee.

The following statement shows the number of members on the several rolls at the beginning and at the close of the fiscal year:

Active Members, November 1, 1924.....	2,975
Deaths.....	62
Resignations.....	32
Transferred to Active Life Roll.....	5
Dropped.....	9
Declined to qualify.....	2
	— 110
	2,865
Elected during the year.....	106
	—
Active Members, October 31, 1925.....	<u>2,971</u>
Active Life Members, November 1, 1924.....	150
Deaths.....	6
	—
	144
Transferred during the year.....	5
	—
Active Life Members, October 31, 1925.....	<u>149</u>

Re-elected under amended By-Law, adopted December 9, 1907, Number on Roll October 31, 1925.....	18
Members on Army, Navy and Consular Roll, November 1, 1924.....	29
Resignations.....	4
	25
Elected during the year.....	5
Members on Army, Navy and Consular Roll, October 31, 1925.....	30
Honorary Members, October 31, 1925.....	2
Clerical Members, November 1, 1924.....	96
Resignations.....	5
	91
Elected during the year.....	2
Clerical Members, October 31, 1925.....	93

The names on the "Register of Candidates for Membership" October 31, 1925, numbered 3,750.

The report of the House Committee gives a detailed statement of the management of the house and of what has been done for the comfort of the members.

The report of the Guest Committee mentions the reception to Honorable Albert J. Beveridge, former U. S. Senator from Indiana, on Founders' Day, November 29, 1924; the reception to Honorable Selden P. Spencer, U. S. Senator from Missouri, on Lincoln's birthday, February 12, 1925; the reception to Honorable William M. Jardine, Secretary of Agriculture of the United States, on Friday, May 8, 1925; the reception to Honorable William M. Butler, U. S. Senator from Massachusetts, on Wednesday, May 20, 1925; and the address by Montaville Flowers on Friday, October 9, 1925.

The report of the Finance Committee, together with that of the Treasurer, gives full information regarding the finances of The Union League.

The report of the Library Committee gives an account of the work done by that Committee and shows the careful attention given the administration of the Library.

On Thursday, January 1, 1925, the usual New Year's Day reception by the President, Vice-Presidents and Directors was held, the attendance being 2,072.

In September, 1922, a special committee, composed of Directors Charles A. Porter, Jr., Harry S. Sharp and William G. Price, Jr., was appointed to consider an appropriate memorial to the members of the League who had served in the World War. This committee made a thorough study of the matter and gathered much information from the members regarding their service.

In May, 1924, a new committee, consisting of Directors Melville G. Baker, Wm. Henry Smedley and Edgar G. Cross, was appointed to carry on the work of the former committee, some of whose members had left the Board. This committee revised the work of tabulation done by its predecessor and checked the results with the records of the State and Federal Governments.

The bronze tablet on the wall of the main hallway is the result of the work of these two committees.

Respectfully submitted on behalf of the Board of Directors.

HAROLD B. BEITLER,
Secretary.

ACTIVE LIFE ROLL

DECEASED

CAPP, WILLIAM M., M.D.....	Dec. 25, 1924
HAMER, JOHN W.....	Sept. 1, 1925
HUTCHINS, J. WARNER.....	Feb. 4, 1925
SMITH, JOSEPH EMLÉN.....	Sept. 19, 1925
THOMAS, ROBERT C.....	Mar. 15, 1925
WATKINS, JEFFERSON D.....	Aug. 9, 1925

ACTIVE ROLL

DECEASED

ADLER, FRANCIS C.....	Nov. 1, 1924
ALLEN, GEORGE C.....	Dec. 26, 1924
BIRD, JOHN B.....	Feb. 15, 1925
BOWKER, GEORGE C.....	Aug. 22, 1925
BOYD, WILLIAM J.....	Oct. 13, 1925
CAMPBELL, ARCHBALD.....	May 20, 1925
CHASE, HOWARD A.....	Aug. 18, 1925
COLTON, S. W., JR.....	Jan. 29, 1925
CONWELL, SYDNEY D.....	Dec. 31, 1924
CORNISH, THOMAS E.....	Nov. 2, 1924
CRAMP, THEODORE.....	Jan. 9, 1925
DARE, ARTHUR, M.D.....	Jan. 11, 1925
DAVIS, HENRY J.....	Dec. 10, 1924
EARNSHAW, WARNER G.....	Sept. 11, 1925
EMERY, LEWIS, JR.....	Nov. 19, 1924
FISS, GEORGE W.....	Apr. 19, 1925
FOULKE, WILLIAM G.....	Oct. 14, 1925
FOX, CHARLES T.....	Sept. 25, 1925
FRANKLIN, ROBERT L.....	Sept. 22, 1925
FREEMAN, M. M.....	Aug. 26, 1925
GAY, THOMAS S.....	Oct. 15, 1925
GEISSE, F. WILLIAM.....	Apr. 12, 1925
GLAUSER, EDWIN D.....	Jan. 12, 1925
HANCE, ANTHONY M.....	Dec. 23, 1924
HILL, OLIVER H.....	Feb. 28, 1925
JONES, JAMES COLLINS.....	Mar. 14, 1925
KISTERBOCK, JOSIAH, JR.....	Apr. 3, 1925
LARZELERE, NICHOLS H.....	Apr. 2, 1925
LEEDOM, JOSEPH.....	Nov. 12, 1924
LOBER, JOHN B.....	Dec. 21, 1924
LOVE, LOUIS F., M.D.....	Nov. 3, 1924
McCLAIN, FRANK B.....	Oct. 11, 1925
McCOWN, JOHN A.....	Jan. 28, 1925
McDOUGAL, SAMUEL A., JR.....	Aug. 7, 1925
McILVAIN, HUGH.....	June 14, 1925
McKEEHAN, CHARLES L.....	Mar. 23, 1925

MANTZ, GEORGE W.....	Oct. 22, 1925
MITCHELL, JAMES E.....	Apr. 19, 1925
MOTT, ABRAM C.....	May 6, 1925
OMERLY, GEORGE G.....	Dec. 19, 1924
PALMER, LOUIS J.....	Nov. 16, 1924
PARSONS, ALONZO R.....	Apr. 25, 1925
PATTERSON, C. STUART.....	Nov. 8, 1924
PENROSE, CHARLES B., M.D.....	Feb. 27, 1925
POTTER, CHARLES A.....	Apr. 23, 1925
RAYMOND, HENRY W.....	Feb. 18, 1925
ROBERTS, JOHN B., M.D.....	Nov. 28, 1924
ROWLAND, RUSH.....	May 25, 1925
SCHERMERHORN, C. E.....	May 16, 1925
SCOTNEY, R. C.....	Feb. 14, 1925
SHOEMAKER, SILAS.....	June 30, 1925
SHOEMAKER, WILLIAM H.....	Dec. 3, 1924
STEIGERWALT, WILLIAM H.....	June 8, 1925
STEVENSON, GEORGE.....	Sept. 28, 1925
STUART, JOSEPH T.....	Feb. 13, 1925
THOMSON, FRANK L.....	Nov. 29, 1924
WALTON, HORACE.....	Feb. 6, 1925
WARREN, ALBERT M.....	Feb. 6, 1925
WHILLDIN, JOHN S.....	Aug. 10, 1925
WHITAKER, ROBERT.....	Feb. 18, 1925
WILLIAMS, HENRY S.....	Nov. 1, 1924
WISE, JOHN S.....	Feb. 28, 1925

TRANSFERRED TO ACTIVE LIFE ROLL

DODGE, KERN.....	Mar. 4, 1925
FELL, E. LAWRENCE.....	Aug. 17, 1925
HERING, WALTER E.....	Feb. 10, 1925
ROMETSCH, WILLIAM H.....	Sept. 11, 1925
WILSON, IRVING L.....	May 11, 1925

RESIGNED

AERTSEN, GUILLIAEM.....	Oct. 31, 1925
ARMSTRONG, EDWARD E.....	July 14, 1925
BACHE, FRANKLIN.....	Oct. 31, 1925
BENDIG, F. H.....	Oct. 31, 1925
BOSBYSHELL, O. M.....	Oct. 31, 1925
BUNTING, HOWARD K.....	Dec. 9, 1924
CADWALLADER, ALGERNON S.....	Oct. 31, 1925
CLARK, W. T.....	Feb. 10, 1925
DETMOLD, WILLIAM L.....	Oct. 31, 1925
DEVER, FRANCIS J., M.D.....	Oct. 31, 1925
FINCKEL, M. L.....	Oct. 31, 1925
FLANAGAN, LOUIS A.....	Oct. 31, 1925
FOLWELL, N. T.....	Oct. 31, 1925

HALFPENNY, JOHN.....	Oct.	31, 1925
HEDGES, JOHN, M.D.....	Oct.	31, 1925
HICKEY, YATES.....	Oct.	31, 1925
HUHN, GEORGE A., JR.....	Oct.	31, 1925
IVINS, M. HARVEY.....	Oct.	31, 1925
JOHNSON, EMORY R.....	Oct.	31, 1925
KEMMERER, M. S.....	Oct.	31, 1925
LINDSAY, E. C.....	Oct.	31, 1925
McFADDEN, GEORGE.....	Oct.	31, 1925
PARSONS, J. CLARENCE.....	Oct.	31, 1925
POWELL, WILLIAM HUNTER.....	Oct.	31, 1925
PRICE, EDWARD TROTTER.....	Oct.	31, 1925
RITTER, A. HOWARD.....	Jan.	13, 1925
ROBB, WILLIAM K.....	Oct.	31, 1925
SWAYNE, NOAH H., 2d.....	Oct.	31, 1925
WATT, LOUIS H.....	Oct.	31, 1925
WEST, WILLIAM T.....	Dec.	9, 1924
WETZEL, CHARLES H.....	Oct.	31, 1925
WETZEL, CHARLES M.....	Oct.	31, 1925

DROPPED

BRATTEN, WILLIAM B.....	Mar.	21, 1925
EVELAND, F. W.....	June	21, 1925
HUHN, GEORGE A., 3d.....	July	1, 1925
JOHNSON, ROBERT J.....	July	1, 1925
LAMBERT, GEORGE T.....	July	1, 1925
LINDSAY, JAMES G.....	July	1, 1925
McGAW, ROBERT F.....	July	1, 1925
PLUMMER, WARREN.....	July	1, 1925
STAFFORD, JOHN, JR.....	Jan.	21, 1925

DECLINED TO QUALIFY

DINKEY, ALVA C.....	June	19, 1925
STILLWELL, WALTER A.....	Jan.	5, 1925

ARMY, NAVY AND CONSULAR ROLL

RESIGNED

SCALES, A. H., Rear Admiral U. S. N.....	Oct.	31, 1925
STEPHENSON, L. B., Captain U. S. N.....	Oct.	31, 1925
WALLER, L. W. T., General U. S. M. C.....	Oct.	31, 1925
WALLER, L. W. T., JR., Major U. S. M. C.....	Jan.	13, 1925

CLERICAL ROLL

RESIGNED

BISPHAM, CLARENCE W.....	Jan.	13, 1925
CLAY, ALBERT E.....	Jan.	13, 1925
KITTO, C. W.....	Apr.	14, 1925
NORWOOD, ROBERT.....	Sept.	8, 1925
STOCKMAN, PERCY R.....	Jan.	13, 1925

TREASURER'S REPORT

of

INCOME AND EXPENSES

Year ended October 31, 1925

INCOME

Annual Tax.....	\$382,937.54
Card case drawers, rent of.....	9.00
Dividend on deposit for perpetual insurance.	187.92
Interest on bank balances.....	5,325.70
Interest on Reserve Fund investments.....	986.00
Letter boxes, rent of.....	296.00
Lincoln Hall, rent of.....	50.00
Playing cards (net).....	68.15
Umbrellas (net).....	312.50
Wardrobes, rent of.....	730.00
	<hr/> \$390,902.81

EXPENSES

Auto truck—maintenance and depreciation..	\$2,073.17
Buildings—maintenance and depreciation...	38,504.14
Christmas and Easter decorations.....	480.00
Christmas fund for employes.....	13,300.00
Club Nights, Luncheons, etc.....	3,288.47
Coal and wood for grates and steam heat...	3,693.82
Furnishings—maintenance and depreciation.	12,924.55
House supplies.....	502.86
Insurance premiums.....	6,575.08
Interest on Union League bonds.....	12,881.01
Motion picture exhibitions.....	504.00
New Year's Day expenses.....	2,218.73
Petty cash disbursements.....	533.89
Premiums on Fidelity bonds.....	521.32
Printing Reports, Ballots, Notices, etc.....	1,829.57
Public Accountant's fees.....	1,350.00
Rent, 1418 Sansom Street.....	1,200.00
Saturday afternoon concerts.....	882.00
Stationery and postage for offices.....	3,596.60
Stationery for writing rooms.....	947.04
Taxes on League buildings.....	88,641.00
Telephones, tickers (net).....	10,797.55

Carried forward.....	\$207,244.80	\$390,902.81
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Brought forward	\$207,244.80	\$390,902.81
Tournaments—Billiards, Pool, Cowboy Pool, Bowling, etc.	548.90	
Uncollected charges cancelled	447.42	
Uniforms	3,479.15	
Wages and board—house employes	58,038.68	
Water rent	2,601.48	
Cleaning Department:		
Wages and board	14,717.59	
Supplies	2,287.53	
Uniforms	443.25	
Coat Rooms and Lavatories:		
Wages and board	9,419.87	
Linen	340.13	
Supplies	788.18	
Uniforms	452.18	
Ice and Refrigeration:		
Wages	952.00	
Repairs and supplies	7,252.33	
Uniforms	10.00	
Laundry:		
Wages	6,445.03	
Repairs and supplies	4,530.13	
Steam and Electric Light Plant:		
Wages and board	18,398.06	
Repairs and supplies	20,581.72	
Uniforms	106.00	
Campaign Committee	1,421.97	
Committee on Membership	1,188.10	
Guest Committee	6,721.94	
Library Committee	8,143.36	
War Memorial Committee	2,800.00	
		<hr/> 379,359.80
Excess of income—House Department		\$11,543.01
Excess of income—Operating Departments (see detailed statement)		<hr/> 7,528.67
Net excess of income, year ended October 31, 1925		<hr/> <hr/> \$19,071.68

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS OF DEPARTMENTS FOR YEAR ENDING

OCTOBER 31, 1925

	Barber Shop	Billiards and Pool	Bowling Alleys	Lodging Rooms	Tailoring	Turkish Baths	Restaurant	Beverages	Cigars	Total
Receipts.....	\$19,115.40	\$10,110.05	\$538.90	\$55,203.38	\$1,355.20	\$6,013.90	\$408,298.08	\$5,229.70	\$162,424.73	\$668,289.34
Wages and board.....	\$16,838.85	\$9,539.86	\$1,472.42	\$39,352.62	\$1,410.87	\$4,482.65	\$175,079.19	\$6,300.86	\$7,855.23	\$262,332.55
Supplies.....	1,079.71	491.20	162.64	702.76	49.92	714.16	212,055.02	3,271.04	140,291.22	358,817.67
Repairs.....	.....	3.47	.....	.....	.....	.....	661.27	.....	.....	664.74
Fuel.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5,512.35	.....	.....	5,512.35
Stationery and Printing.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,428.73	.....	143.93	4,572.66
Uniforms.....	.....	505.00	.....	1,086.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,591.00
China, Glass, Linen, Silver.....	323.64	.....	.....	1,726.19	.....	22.69	18,502.00	45.00	.....	20,619.52
Other expenses.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5,369.23	110.51	1,170.44	6,650.18
Total.....	\$18,242.20	\$10,539.53	\$1,635.06	\$42,867.57	\$1,460.79	\$5,219.50	\$421,607.79	\$9,727.41	\$149,460.82	\$660,760.67
Excess of income.....	\$873.20	.....	.....	\$12,335.81	.....	\$794.40	.....	.....	\$12,963.91	\$7,528.67
Excess of expenses.....	\$429.48	\$1,096.16	\$105.59	\$13,309.71	\$4,497.71

PERMANENT FUND

Cash Balance, October 31, 1924.....	\$4,555.51
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RECEIPTS

104 Entrance Fees at \$300.....	\$31,200.00
5 Life Membership Fees at \$1000.....	5,000.00
Interest on bank balances.....	209.67
	<hr/>
	36,409.67

Total.....	\$40,965.18
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DISBURSEMENTS

Deposited in the Sinking Fund.....	35,500.00
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Cash Balance, October 31, 1925.....	<u>\$5,465.18</u>
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SINKING FUND ACCOUNT

Balance, October 31, 1924.....	\$231.02
Transferred from Permanent Fund.....	\$35,500.00
Interest on balances.....	75.58
	<hr/>
	35,575.58

Total.....	\$35,806.60
Bonds purchased and cancelled.....	35,000.00

Balance, October 31, 1925.....	<u>\$806.60</u>
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BOND ACCOUNT

Union League 4.4 per cent bonds due March 1, 1939:

Bonds outstanding October 31, 1924.....	\$310,000.00
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Bonds purchased and cancelled:

February 2, 1925.....	\$15,000.00
May 25, 1925.....	10,000.00
September 1, 1925.....	10,000.00
	<hr/>
	35,000.00

Bonds outstanding October 31, 1925.....	<u>\$275,000.00</u>
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GEORGE S. PEPPER LIBRARY TRUST FUND

Invested in Pennsylvania Railroad Company, General Mortgage, 4½ per cent Gold Bonds, Series A, due June 1, 1965.....	\$8,000.00
U. S. Third 4¼ per cent Liberty Loan Bonds, due Sep- tember 15, 1928.....	250.00
Cash in bank.....	12.50
	<hr/>
Total.....	<u>\$8,262.50</u>

GEORGE S. PEPPER LIBRARY FUND

Interest received from the George S. Pepper Library Trust Fund, which, under the terms of the bequest, can be used only for the purchase of books.

Balance, October 31, 1924.....	\$107.78
Received from interest on bonds.....	370.62
	<hr/>
Total.....	\$478.40
Expended during the year.....	375.54
	<hr/>
Balance, October 31, 1925.....	<u>\$102.86</u>

BALANCE SHEET

BALANCE SHEET

ASSETS

REAL ESTATE.....	\$1,718,947.46	
HOUSEHOLD FURNISHINGS.....	300,616.73	
LIBRARY.....	30,166.50	
GEORGE S. PEPPER LIBRARY TRUST FUND INVESTMENTS:		
P. R. R. 4½ per cent General Mortgage Bonds.....	\$8,000.00	
U. S. Third 4¼ per cent Liberty Loan Bonds.....	250.00	
		8,250.00
RESERVE FOR MAINTENANCE AND DEPRECIATION INVESTMENTS:		
U. S. Fourth 4¼ per cent Liberty Loan Bonds....		22,493.56
INVENTORIES:		
Merchandise.....	\$26,424.89	
China, glass, linen, silverware.....	57,487.24	
Barber supplies, billiard ivory, etc....	2,071.27	
Coal.....	1,625.10	
Stationery, cleaning supplies, etc....	2,784.07	
		90,392.57
CASH:		
Income Account.....	\$23,075.82	
Permanent Fund.....	5,465.18	
		28,541.00
MEMBERS' HOUSE CHARGES.....		61,379.90
DEPOSIT FOR PERPETUAL INSURANCE.....		22,115.93
SINKING FUND: Cash deposited for retirement of bonds		806.60
DEFERRED CHARGES:		
Insurance premiums.....	\$6,890.94	
Taxes—prepaid.....	14,773.50	
		21,664.44
TOTAL ASSETS.....		<u>\$2,305,374.69</u>

October 31, 1925.

OCTOBER 31, 1925

LIABILITIES

FIRST MORTGAGE SINKING FUND GOLD BONDS.....	\$275,000.00	
GEORGE S. PEPPER LIBRARY TRUST FUND:		
Principal.....	\$8,262.50	
Income Account.....	102.86	
		8,365.36
ACCOUNTS PAYABLE.....		462.42
WAGES ACCRUED BUT NOT DUE.....		494.16
INTEREST ON BONDS ACCRUED.....		2,016.67
RESERVE FOR MAINTENANCE AND DEPRECIATION.....		22,406.88
RESERVE FOR REPLACEMENT OF RESTAURANT LINEN AND SILVER.....		1,629.76
EXCESS OF ASSETS OVER LIABILITIES:		
Balance, October 31, 1924.....	\$1,939,442.51	
Permanent Fund Receipts.....	36,485.25	
Excess of Income—year ended Octo- ber 31, 1925.....	19,071.68	
		1,994,999.44

TOTAL LIABILITIES.....	<u>\$2,305,374.69</u>
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E. LAWRENCE FELL,
Treasurer.

AUDITORS' CERTIFICATE

We, the undersigned Auditors, elected by the Board of Directors of The Union League of Philadelphia, in accordance with Section 53 of the By-Laws, hereby certify that we have examined the accounts of the Treasurer for the fiscal year ending October 31, 1925, and have found them correct.

W. HARRY MILLER,
WILLIAM A. POWELL,
JAMES V. ELLISON.

Auditors.

ANNUAL REPORT
of the
HOUSE COMMITTEE

October 31, 1925.

*To the President and Board of Directors of
The Union League of Philadelphia:*

GENTLEMEN:—Your House Committee herewith submits its report for the year ending October 31, 1925.

The Committee has held regular weekly meetings except during the summer vacation period.

The following social activities were conducted during the year:

The billiard, pool, cowboy pool, bowling, auction bridge and chess tournaments were held, and the winners were presented with prizes on behalf of The Union League.

A Club Night was held on Thursday, January 22, at which time the Fortnightly Club presented its winter concert. Approximately seven hundred members and guests were present.

A Ladies' Night was held on Monday, December 22. Three hundred and twenty-five dinners were served to members, their families and guests in the North and South Marble Rooms, and at the conclusion of the dinner a Christmas music recital was given by the Choral Art Society, through the courtesy of Mr. Florence J. Heppe. A second Ladies' Night was held on Wednesday, April 22, when three hundred and forty-two dinners were served to members, their families and guests in the North and South Marble Rooms. After the dinner a recital was given by the Women's Symphony Orchestra of Philadelphia, with Miss Mildred Faas, Miss Florence Haehnle and Miss Anne Grey, soloists.

The usual Saturday afternoon concerts were given from January 3 until April 18, and motion picture entertainments were given each Wednesday evening during July and August.

The Committee has labored during the year to improve the condition of your property. To this end two extra painters were put on the last of June, and the Smoking Room, Reception Room, Writing Room, Old Restaurant and Office on the first floor and the Card Room on the second floor have been repainted and renovated.

The bed rooms on the third floor of the old building have all been repainted and a new system of ventilation introduced; and arrangements are now being made to refurnish the wash room.

Several of the bed rooms in the new building have been repainted and gradually all the furniture is being refinished.

The Turkish Bath Rooms have been repainted and the kitchen is now being thoroughly repainted.

New interlocking devices have been placed on the passenger elevators in the Fifteenth Street Building; and additional sewerage connections have been made to the Moravian Street sewer.

The furniture has been overhauled and reupholstered in most of the public rooms, and the rugs and carpets have been put in first-class condition.

The Committee has given particular attention to the Restaurant Department. The Ladies' Dining Room, which was much crowded, has been enlarged, increasing the capacity about thirty per cent. The old retiring room and wash room were torn out and made a part of the north dining room through connecting arches, and the space formerly occupied by the old cigar humidor and employees' retiring room was made into a new ladies' retiring room and wash room. The new rooms may be curtained off for private luncheons or dinners.

The cigar desk has been removed from the corridor in the new building to the old building opposite the office, and a new sales humidor room has been installed in the space formerly occupied by the bar. This humidor is built with every modern device to keep the cigars in perfect condition and for their display. This innovation has materially increased our cigar sales.

The old cigar stand has been reconstructed and fitted with refrigeration, and is now operated by the Restaurant Department, where attractive displays are exhibited and orders are taken for supplies to be delivered to our members.

The south dumb waiter has been opened on the dining room floor, adding greatly to our facilities for serving the south dining room, and a new dumb waiter has been constructed for the use of the north dining room. The introduction of these dumb waiters has resulted in a large saving in breakage. The old shaft at the Fifteenth Street end of the kitchen, running to the roof, has been converted into a ventilating shaft and equipped with an exhaust fan. This has materially improved the conditions in the kitchen.

The Committee has made special efforts to reduce the loss in the Restaurant Department. The increases in the market prices of provisions have practically consumed the entire amount collected from our membership under the service charge. By careful economies and reorganization the loss of 1924 on this department, amounting to \$30,846.72, has been reduced to \$13,309.71, without in any way reducing the quality of the provisions provided or the service rendered.

An earnest effort has been made to bring our service up to the highest efficiency, and we have replaced china, linen and silverware and provided additional facilities for the kitchen and pantries. A revised and redesigned menu of four pages, covering both the à la carte and de jour, has been printed for the dining rooms.

The Committee has opened the Ladies' Dining Room on Sunday evenings and from the number in attendance each week the innovation is evidently a popular one.

Because of the alterations and changes made on the ground floor of the old building, in enlarging the Ladies' Dining Room, a bad fire risk has been removed. A new inspection and rate on the fire insurance was made, and the rate has been adjusted on the old building from 26 cents per \$100 to 19 cents, and on the new buildings a reduction of 1 cent on each, making one 19 cents and the other 18 cents. We have received a rebate of \$2,208.16 on our present policies. Term insurance expiring this year, amounting to \$350,000, was placed in perpetual policies, increasing our perpetual insurance to \$1,100,000 on the buildings.

Your Committee makes acknowledgment of the following:

Large silver cup; presented by Mrs. Thomas S. Dando in memory of her husband.

Book of photographs of the original League buildings; presented by Mrs. John Frisbee Keator.

Portrait of Henry C. Carey, one of the founders of The Union League; presented by Howard Evans.

Original drawing of "Sherman's March to the Sea," by F. O. C. Darley; loaned by George T. Lambert.

Hall clock; presented by F. L. Thomson, Jr.

Original telegraph key and fifteen bulletins issued by operator at Chambersburg at the time of General Lee's surrender; presented by H. Gilmore.

Cribbage board; presented by Mrs. Virginia Russell Haskins.

Bronze statuary; presented by Mrs. Frank Samuel.

Respectfully submitted on behalf of the House Committee.

WILLIAM R. LYMAN,
Chairman.

ANNUAL REPORT
of the
GUEST COMMITTEE

October 31, 1925.

*To the President and Board of Directors of
The Union League of Philadelphia:*

GENTLEMEN:—The Guest Committee has the honor to submit a report of the duties assigned for the year ending October 31, 1925.

On Founders' Day, November 29, 1924, the Board of Directors tendered a dinner to Honorable Albert J. Beveridge, former U. S. Senator from Indiana, after which he delivered a very interesting address in Lincoln Hall. This address was printed in the 1924 annual report.

On Lincoln's Birthday, February 12, 1925, Honorable Selden P. Spencer, U. S. Senator from Missouri, was the guest of honor at a dinner by the Board, followed by an address on Abraham Lincoln, which was thoroughly enjoyed by the members.

On May 8, 1925, Honorable William M. Jardine, Secretary of Agriculture of the United States, was the guest of The Union League and entertained at dinner by the Board of Directors. Following the dinner Dr. Jardine delivered an able address in Lincoln Hall.

Honorable William M. Butler, U. S. Senator from Massachusetts, was the guest of The Union League on May 20, 1925. He was tendered a dinner by the Board and then addressed the membership in Lincoln Hall.

On October 9, 1925, Montaville Flowers delivered an address entitled "America Looking Ahead." All the above addresses are appended to this report.

Respectfully submitted on behalf of the Guest Committee.

BAYARD HENRY,
Chairman.

ADDRESS

BY

HONORABLE SELDON P. SPENCER

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MISSOURI

THE UNION LEAGUE OF PHILADELPHIA

FEBRUARY 12, 1925

**Address of Honorable Seldon P. Spencer, United States
Senator from Missouri, delivered at The Union
League, February 12, 1925.**

PRESIDENT PASSMORE.—Gentlemen of The Union League: This, the 116th anniversary of the birth of the great Lincoln, finds his name and fame more secure in history the world over than ever before. As year follows year in rapid succession, and the period in which he lived recedes further and further into the past, the true appraisal of the character of this master mind stands out ever more clearly and marks him beyond question the most beloved of Americans. The most hallowed traditions of The Union League center largely about Lincoln, and again we are met to renew our faith in the fundamental principles expounded by him, and to pay our meed of homage to his memory.

It seems fitting that our guest of honor and the speaker of the evening should be an eminent citizen of that general section of the country throughout which raged with bitter intensity the discussions upon the slavery question which eventually led up to the greatest crisis in the history of the Republic, through which the martyred President, whose natal anniversary we celebrate to-night, played a leading part. Senator Spencer is the only Republican ever elected by the people of Missouri to the United States Senate. [Applause.] To indicate that his first election was no accident, the people of his State re-elected him in 1920 by a greatly enlarged majority. He is typical of our best statesmen, really the scholar in politics, a Phi Beta Kappa man at Yale, where he graduated with honors in 1884, a native of our own Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, having been born at Erie the very year this Union League was founded, a man upon whom many honors and distinctions have been conferred, an enthusiastic Republican and one of the party's brainy men in the

Senate, where he is a member of a number of important committees, at present being Chairman of the Committee on Privileges and Elections. We are fortunate indeed to have him address us upon Lincoln and present-day problems.

I take great pleasure in introducing Hon. Seldon P. Spencer, United States Senator from Missouri. [Applause.]

SENATOR SPENCER.—Mr. President and Gentlemen: As long as I live I shall remember this delightful occasion. It is in the State in which I was born, and I cannot refrain at the outset to-night from speaking to you men of Pennsylvania with a great deal of feeling, and from personal experience when I say that no State in the Union has to-day men of higher character, of greater learning and fidelity, of more devoted patriotism to State and nation and of more usefulness in the Senate of the United States than Senator Pepper and Senator Reed of Pennsylvania. [Applause.]

I do not know why I say this, but it is on my heart to say that the burden of life in the Senate is tremendously eased now and then by a word of commendation from the constituents whom the Senators seek to represent. There is enough of the other that comes with every mail, and much of the commendation that sometimes is in the heart is never expressed when it would be expressed if there was any idea of the welcome it would receive and the help it would bestow. The Senate has a larger mortality because of its strenuous work than is true of any similar number of men gathered together anywhere on the face of the earth in all time.

Somewhere I read this:

“If with pleasure you are viewing
Anything a man is doing,
If you like him or you love him,
Tell him now.

“Don’t withhold your approbation
Till the pastor makes oration,
And he lies with snowy lilies
’Round his brow.

“Then no matter how you shout it,
He’ll not really care about it,
And he’ll never know how many
Teardrops you have shed.

“If there’s any praise that’s due him,
Now’s the time to slip it to him,
For he cannot read his tombstone
When he’s dead.” [Laughter and Applause.]

I am glad to-night because this meeting is held in the City of Brotherly Love, where, Quaker-like, the great fundamental principles remain intact, though now and then there may be lapses of a temporary character which sometimes exist. When I pass in review the municipalities of the United States, I am impressed by the fact, if I may so put it, that what I like to call stability in American patriotism and civic interest has its best and highest illustration in the City of Philadelphia, where I am honored to be to-night. Some one told me that probably there was a large proportion of Quakers or men of Quaker descent, or of Quaker collaterals and identification in any audience of representative men that could be gathered in the City of Philadelphia. I think it was the man who told me that who spoke to me of his own direct ancestor once or twice removed, a great stalwart Quaker, strong in body and firm in the principles of peace. He was illustrating how useful those of his faith were, and he said, “Oh, my grandfather”—or great-grandfather, whichever it was—“was walking along the streets of Philadelphia with his wife, and a burly kind of ruffian who had had some antagonism for him insulted him. He paid no atten-

tion at first, but when it was repeated, his anger got the better of him, and as he grabbed that man by the neck and choked his wind until death seemed imminent, and shook him until his teeth rattled, he said, in gentleness of tone, "My friend, thou knowest that I will not strike thee, but I will hold thee very uncomfortably." [Laughter.]

I think the first story of my boyhood that I ever heard about a Quaker—and that led me to love them from that time on—was laid back in the scenes of John Paul Jones. There was a Quaker who was impressed on board the American ship, who was there against his will, who said he would not fight, that he did not believe in fighting, but who loved this country in spite of it with a devoted love. When the contest began to wage severe between the American ship and the English ship, a great, burly Englishman was climbing up the side and just about to get over on the deck of the American boat, and the Quaker could stand it no longer. He grabbed him around the waist and held him over the gunwale of the ship, and said, "Friend, thou hast no business on this ship," and dropped him over into the sea. [Laughter.]

And if I may say, I would like to say very briefly that I am not unmindful of what The Union League means, of its historic past, of its present power, and its future usefulness, which characterize it in every good sense as a great national society situated in this City of Philadelphia. You may have guessed from what I said how delighted I am to be here to-night and how much I would like, at least for a few moments or an hour, to be regarded as one of you, for I am happy in my company to-night.

Once when I was in London I remember two men came out of the House of Commons late at night—you will recall their names when I tell them to you—and they saw a newsboy with a broom sweeping the streets in order to earn some little extra money after the sale of his papers had ended. With that spirit of boyhood which is charac-

teristic of men always in spite of age, one of them turned to the boy and said to him, "Son, I will give you a shilling if you will rap that bobby a whack with your broom." The bobby was leaning up against a telegraph pole apparently sound asleep, and the boy didn't even need the encouragement that was given him by his elders. He spat on both his hands and, approaching the policeman, he aimed his broom at that place in the policeman's anatomy which is reserved for youthful correction, and hit him a whack as hard as he could hit him, and then he ran. The policeman was not as sound asleep as he seemed to be, and he ran after the boy, soon caught him, and took him over to the station. These two men said, "Here, we have got this boy into this fix, and we must see him out of it." So they followed him to the station, and as they entered, the sergeant was just questioning the boy. When he saw these two gentlemen enter, he turned to one of them, and said, "Who are you, sir?" He said, "I am Lord Rosebery." The boy's eyes were as big as saucers. He turned to the other gentleman and said, "Who are you?" He said, "I am the Earl of Salisbury." He then turned to the boy, and said, "Kid, who are you?" He said, "You bet I am not going back on my pals; I am the Duke of Wellington." [Laughter.]

It is a strange thing, is it not, that great men, men whose memory we love to revere, and whose history we delight to read, are rarely understood correctly or fairly in their lifetime. Oftentimes they are praised far more than they deserve, and more often I sometimes think they are blamed more severely than they should be. The shaft of venom, however, does not pierce beyond the grave, and sooner or later in the hearts, consciences and judgment, especially of the American people, men are estimated at what they really are worth. Never, as the President so aptly said, has Abraham Lincoln been held in greater reverence at home or in wider admiration

abroad than at this hour. In that magnificent memorial that bears his name, and that shall stand for all time on the banks of the Potomac, almost within touch of the monument of George Washington, there has been inscribed on the pedestal upon which the statue of Abraham Lincoln rests, these words: "In this temple, as in the hearts of the American people for whom he preserved this Government, the memory of Abraham Lincoln is enshrined forever." He was born in 1809; he has been dead sixty years; he died in 1865, in the very prime of his manhood, at fifty-six years of age.

It is incredible for us to-day to believe the ridicule, contempt and vilification which followed him almost to the day of his death, and from men high in office and high in character, from sources from which such words and conduct would seem to have been impossible. Members of his Cabinet referred to him as "that baboon at the other end of the Avenue." Mr. Nicolai and Mr. Hay in their wonderful many-volumed account of the life of Abraham Lincoln, write "Even to complete strangers, Chase, a member of his cabinet, could not speak without speaking slightly of President Lincoln." "His attitude," wrote Mr. Hay, "varied between the limits of active brutality and benevolent contempt." Yet when there came a vacancy in the Supreme Court of the United States and Chase wanted that position, Lincoln, with a forbearance and generosity, and if I may say so, patriotism, because Chase was fitted for the Bench, forgot everything else and appointed him to that vacancy. The *New York Independent* wrote at that time of Lincoln's papers, which thrill us to-day as we read them with their power, and often with their eloquence, always with their patriotism, and with that touch that strikes the heart, "These are lifeless, dead papers. There has not been a line," continued the article, "in any Government paper that might not have been issued by the Czar of Russia or Louis

Napoleon of France.” Benjamin Butler in his book says that the *New York Times* in a long, elaborate, well-considered editorial, while Lincoln was struggling with the problems of the Government, proposed George Law, an extensive manufacturer of New York, as dictator of the United States because of the impossibility of President Lincoln as Chief Executive. Senators referred to him again and again as “that damned idiot in the White House.” Wendell Phillips wrote of him, “I am unwilling to trust Abraham Lincoln with the future of this country,” and in his Boston address, he said, “The President’s Cabinet are treasonable; the President and the Secretary of War should be impeached.” “President Lincoln with a snail-like speed will lose before he is beaten.” Richard H. Dana wrote to a friend at the time, “I see no hope but in the army. The lack of respect for the President in all parties is unconcealed. He is an unutterable calamity to us where he now is,” and that was in the President’s chair. Stanton said of him, sneeringly, “I met Lincoln at the Bar, and found him a low, cunning clown,” and yet at the deathbed of the President, Stanton, catching some vision of the glory that would for all time surround the name of Abraham Lincoln, exclaimed, with the tears streaming down his cheeks, “Now he belongs to the ages.” And no man in American history, save perhaps he who, with constant care and unfailing wisdom, rocked this nation in the cradle of its national infancy is dearer to the hearts of the American people or is more greatly admired by the world than Abraham Lincoln. [Applause.]

Lincoln once said of Washington, in an address which he delivered at the 110th anniversary of Washington’s birthday, these words, “On that name, no eulogy is expected. It cannot be. To add brightness to the sun or glory to the name of Washington is alike impossible; let none attempt it. In solemn awe pronounce the name,

and in its naked, deathless splendor, let it shine on." It might well be thus said of Abraham Lincoln, who spoke those words of George Washington. The two men together—and I love to look at the two statues, each face to face with the other, on the banks of the Potomac—those two men in less than a century of our history, from 1775 to 1865, founded a republic and preserved this Republic, whose progress, in the providence of God, has been so constant and so marvelous that all the world is puzzled by its brilliancy. And yet its course has been so sure that, as I hope to show before I am through to-night, if its own citizenship be true, no power on earth can mar its lustre or hinder its progress. [Applause.]

When Abraham Lincoln was born, there were seven million people in the United States; there are now over a hundred and ten million people. There were but seventeen sovereign States in the Union; there are now forty-eight sovereign States. The wealth of all the people within the dominion of our Government aggregated a little less than five billion dollars; to-day the national wealth is upward of three hundred and fifty billion dollars, the richest nation on the face of the earth. The income of the Government was about eleven million dollars per year; the income of the Government to-day is over eleven billion one hundred and ninety-six million dollars a year. The number of civil employees at the birth of Lincoln was about seven thousand, and is now five hundred and fifty thousand men and women. There is no danger from without; as Lincoln said in 1837, "All the armies of Europe, Asia and Africa combined, with all the treasures of the earth, our own excepted, and all their military chiefs with Bonaparte for a commander could not by force take a single drink from the Ohio River or make a track on the Blue Ridge in a trial of a thousand years."

Our national problems to-day are precisely as they appeared to Abraham Lincoln, as in fact, they were in the

days of George Washington, who refused a crown that this Republic which he had founded and so loved might remain a government where the people should understand and participate in the solution of its problems; and Abraham Lincoln suffered the martyrdom of death for precisely the same reason.

If we were in a moment to analyze the three great reasons why the heart and service of Lincoln in every part of our own country, in the North and South alike, as in all the world, are so prized and honored, they would, I fancy, be these three characteristic principles: First, in the words of Lincoln, his dependence upon Almighty God, "He who hath measured the waters in the hollow of His hand and meted out the heavens with a span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure and weighed the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance." No other power but his dependence upon Almighty God sufficed Abraham Lincoln in the vital days of national danger. The most pathetic thing to me, and the most illuminating incident in the life of Lincoln, was told in my family by a Shakespearian actor named James F. Murdock, who was a warm friend of Abraham Lincoln, and who, when this nation was hanging in the very balance, was spending a week at the white House. Said Murdock, "One hot night in the summer I could not sleep, and I was aroused from drowsiness by hearing a voice broken with sobs, but intensely earnest. I left my room upon the second floor of the White House, and walking along the hall noticed that the door of the room in which the President slept was open, and over by the window, clad in the garments of night, and on his knees, was Abraham Lincoln." "And," said Murdock, "this is what I heard: 'O, God, Thou who didst hear Solomon when he prayed for wisdom, hear me. I cannot lead this people, I cannot guide this nation without Thy help. I am poor and weak and

sinful. O, God, Thou who didst hear Solomon when he prayed for wisdom, hear me and save this nation.' "

Back of every incident, national and individual, when you and I come to read history as God writes history, we will see the writing of the finger of the Omnipotent in a multitude of cases and circumstances that were otherwise inexplicable. I remember once in crossing the Atlantic they gave one of the concerts for the benefit of the Seamen's Fund, and a man somewhat advanced in years was called upon to sing. He sang in a high tenor voice, which no one who heard could ever forget, peculiar, rather moving, very sweet. When he had finished, another man of about equal age came up to him, and he said, "Were you not in the battle of Gettysburg?" The singer said, "Yes, I was; how did you know it?" "Well," he said, "weren't you an out-post sentry in the Union Army?" The singer said, "Yes, I was; how did you know it?" His interrogator said, "I was a sharp-shooter in the rebel army, and I was stationed in a tree to watch for the man on your beat, and when you came, I saw you, and I had my rifle leveled at you, and just then you started to sing, 'Jesus, Saviour, pilot me, over life's tempestuous sea.' I never forgot the voice, and I dropped the rifle and that is why you are here to-night."

The second reason of Lincoln's power was his confidence in the final justice and wisdom of the American people, in whom he always confided, and for whom he always attempted to act in preserving a nation of the people, by the people and for the people; and he had the ability of making the rank and file of the American people believe in him.

The third reason was in his simple honesty of life, his plain common sense, his keen sense of humor, his sincere sympathy and infinite patience. Once when Stanton was Secretary of War, a friend of Lincoln's came running to him, and he said, "Mr. President, do you know, I just

heard Secretary Stanton in a company of men say that you were a damn fool." "Well," the President said, "did you hear Stanton say that?" The man said, "Yes, I did, Mr. President; it was an outrageous thing, wasn't it? I heard him say in a company of men that you were a damn fool." "Well," said Lincoln, "did Stanton really say that?" The man said, "I heard him; I heard him say it." "Well," said Lincoln, "if that is so, there must be something in it, for Stanton is generally right in every expression of opinion that he makes." [Laughter.]

And his absolute fearlessness and disregard of consequences when he felt that he was right: A company of seventy men from my State of Missouri—and we were right on the edge; whether Missouri went on the southern side or the northern side was in the balance—seventy patriotic, loyal but extremely radical Americans came to the President upon one occasion and insisted that his course in connection with the border States was not nearly as severe as it should have been. Lincoln heard them patiently, and when it was over, said to them, "My friends, it is my ambition and desire to so administer the affairs of the Government while I remain President that if at the end I shall have lost every friend on earth I shall have at least one friend remaining, and that one shall be deep down inside of me." That characteristic, coupled with the other two that I have mentioned, made Lincoln the man that he was.

I should like to speak of Lincoln as a mighty incentive to American boyhood, to American young manhood, as a striking illustration of what the average boy of the United States with determination, perseverance, unassailable honesty and good nature can accomplish. Lincoln himself wrote in boyhood, "I will read and study, and some day my opportunity will come." You remember Disraeli's comment, that a great man who is successful is a man who is ready when his opportunity comes; and the

wideness of the opening of the door of opportunity before American boyhood and young manhood is visualized most strikingly in the life of Abraham Lincoln.

Once when Garfield was President of the United States, I remember he came to St. Louis. It was before the days of the automobile and he was driven from the station up town in a carriage with four horses, and by his side was the ambassador from some foreign country—from which country I have forgotten—and as they passed the curb near the station, a dirty boy with a ragged suit and ill-kempt hair took off his ragged hat and shouted, "Hurrah for Garfield, hurrah for Garfield." The President lifted his high hat and turning to him said, "Thank you, my son, thank you." The Ambassador with an ill-concealed sneer upon his face, said, "May I ask you, Mr. President, why you took off your hat to that dirty ragamuffin on the street?" Garfield, quick as a flash, replied, "I did it, sir, because in these United States, who knows but that boy, like Abraham Lincoln before him, may himself become the President of these United States?" It is the boundless opportunity that Lincoln illustrates.

I would like to talk of his hatred for war, and at the same time his grim, heartbreaking determination that right and national honor and the indivisible union of the States must, if God willed it, be preserved, even by the awfulness of war which he so loathed. Said he, in his second inaugural address, "I hope that this scourge of war may speedily pass away, yet if God wills that it continue till the wealth piled up by the bondsmens' two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn by the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether,' and this war shall go on."

I must, however, content myself quickly with a brief reference to at least two great underlying problems of American life, to-day and as they seemed to Lincoln, upon the solution of which every other problem in which we are interested, economic, financial, political or agricultural, inevitably depends.

The first of them is our citizenship, alike that which is born within our borders, and that which comes to us from other shores. They are familiar with our form of Government, with our pride in our national institutions, with our determination that citizens in this country shall participate intelligently in the solution of national problems. It is the glory of the United States that at every time of national crisis, whenever the nation has been endangered, the things that separated the American people disappeared over night, and we presented in the face of that danger an undivided front. Patriotism instantly rose triumphant over partisanship, and men forgot the things that had divided them in the union of greater need that bound them together.

I think it is recorded in our American history, and it illustrates the point, that at one time Horace Greeley was quite out of sympathy with the administration at Washington; in fact, he was bitter against it. They heard of it on the other side, and they invited him to come over and speak, for they knew what a powerful, vitriolic address of condemnation he could give if he felt called upon so to do. He accepted the invitation, and when he reached the other side there was prepared for him a great banquet in the Mayor's house, and the royalty of England, the nobility and the great men of affairs were there when he rose to speak. Some of you remember having heard him speak, and you will recall what a high, squeaky kind of voice he had. As he commenced his address, the first thing he said was, "The difficulty with the United States of America is that she needs a good, sound licking." A

great, burly Englishman who sat right over where you are sitting started to applaud and said, "Hear, hear, good; that is just what she does need." Well, all the dormant patriotism in the old man's heart rose instantly to the surface; he forgot what he intended to say, but he continued his address by saying, "But the further difficulty of the case is that, as you Englishmen ought to know, there is no nation under God's great sun able to give it to her." [Applause.]

I say our citizenship, its character, its loyalty, its intelligence, its participating activity in government, is the first of the two great fundamental problems of the United States to-day. In the first two hundred and fifty years, two hundred and eighty thousand people came to these shores from across the sea. We are an immigrant nation, more so than any other nation on the face of the earth. Some of us have pride in our ancestry that leads back through several generations, but it is but a difference in degree; every man of us either himself came from a foreign shore and became naturalized, or his father, or his grandfather or his great-grandfather did—run it back as far as you like; we are an immigrant nation. Two hundred and eighty thousand of them came over in the first two hundred and fifty years, and they constitute the foundation of the American-born citizens to-day. Forty-five million of them are living in the United States as the descendants, direct, lineal and collateral of those two hundred and eighty thousand.

Since 1870, thirty-six million have come to our shores from foreign lands. Under the present law, as you remember, we have limited it so that no foreign nation can send in any year more than two per cent of the number from that nation that were living in the United States according to the census of 1890. That does not apply to South America, to Central America, to Canada or to Mexico. It will provide, I presume, for an annual immi-

gration of approximately four hundred thousand people a year.

There is abundance of room. Macauley once said that the United States would never come to its fullness of power until its population equaled at least two thousand to the square mile. The population is something like fifty to the square mile to-day. If all of Germany and all of France were to move into the State of Texas, that single State would not be as thickly populated as is Italy to-day; we have abundance of room. We have abundance of sympathy for the oppressed of other nations, but there is not a foot of ground nor a word of welcome for any man or woman from any place on earth that has not, first, the ability, and second, the desire, to rise to the full measure of American citizenship in this country of ours. [Applause.]

If I had my way about it, I would provide that if any one came from another shore to this country and did not within a reasonable time, perhaps one year, take out first papers as indicative of intention to forsake allegiance to the government from which he came, and to identify himself unreservedly with our Government under whose power he was then living, or if he did not after the first papers, within a reasonable time, perhaps within seven years, complete that intention by showing that he was able morally, physically, and mentally, and that he intended to become an American citizen and receive full naturalization, that failure in either event should be a cause for deportation back to the home from which he came. [Applause.]

And the reason of it is this, that in our country we are dependent upon the intelligence and participation of our citizenship. The Supreme Court of the United States once said, "Every American citizen is a constituent part of the sovereignty of this nation," and therefore an intelligent understanding of American principles and the

education of the individual boy and girl, born here or born abroad, is absolutely vital if this Republic is to continue. George Washington in his farewell address said the same thing, only he wrote that, "In proportion as a government depends upon the will of the people"—and our Government depends absolutely upon the will of the people—"it is essential that the people should be educated." Abraham Lincoln said upon the subject of education, "I can only say that I view it as the most important subject in which we as a people can be engaged." It is staggering to think that in the last war, in our army, unequaled in the annals of military power, unprepared, if you like, except for that preparation of bravery and ingenuity which military training cannot put into the life of a young man as well as God puts it in his make-up—in that army of ours, the greatest army that ever marched, one out of every four American soldiers could not read an order written in English, nor could they write a letter home in the English language. Three million people in this land to-day above school age cannot understand or speak the English language; five and a half million people in this country above school age cannot read or write any language. That is why our citizenship, the carefulness of its selection, the carefulness of its preparation, is one of the two great underlying, vital principles of American life to-day.

The other is the preservation of the foundation of the Republic, which is established upon the Constitution of the United States. When we tamper with the principles of the Constitution, when we look with indulgence upon the violation of its provisions, when we even consider any change that would open the door so that a temporary majority in Congress, swayed, if you like, by passion or prejudice, might at any time overrule the rights of the minority as established in that constitution and finally preserved by the Supreme Court—that moment we have

begun a process of disintegration that eventually, if continued, can lead to nothing else than national destruction.

We differ from all the nations in the world in this, that we have a written Constitution. We differ from absolute monarchies, because in an absolute monarchy the King or the Czar, or the Sultan, or whatever he may be called, has the residuum of power in himself, the divine right of kings, and yields to the people as much as he pleases or as much as, by force of circumstances, he may be compelled to yield, but the residuum of power is in him, the ruler, the monarch by divine right. We differ from limited monarchies like England, because in England the supreme power is in the Parliament, which can overnight change every right or principle of the individual or of the government, and there is no appeal from an act of Parliament. We say, "The people laid down certain great fundamental principles beyond the power of Congress or of any Legislature or of any Executive to either modify or to destroy." How wonderfully that Constitution reads. The preamble thrills, as we think of its identification with the people. The Constitution of the United States, the thirty-nine articles of the Episcopal Church, and the Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church are the three greatest articles that come nearest to the immeasurable wisdom of the infallible Word of the living God, that have ever been written upon earth. You remember that Gladstone, as he finished the reading and study of our Constitution, said of it, "Never from the brain and the purpose of man at a single moment has a greater instrument been struck." "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution of the United States of America." It is the fundamental bulwark of American liberty. Lincoln

said of it, "The people of these United States are the rightful masters of both Congress and Courts, not to overthrow the Constitution, but to overthrow the men who pervert the Constitution. There it stands as the foundation upon which every sacred right of the individual, of the minority is secure, no matter how great may be the power or how large the majority against it."

It is strange that we do not read the Constitution; there are only four thousand words in it; there are only eighty-seven sentences in it, including all the nineteen amendments; it can be read in twenty minutes. It makes this nation, as it is construed by the Supreme Court, a Government controlled by written law and not by the whim or passion or fancies of men. It establishes the right to worship God according to the dictates of one's own conscience, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of petition, the right to life, liberty and property. If any man thinks those are academic phrases that mean nothing when written in the Constitution, let his mind turn for an instant to the recent happenings in Russia without a written Constitution. Figures vary, but they run into the hundreds of thousands of men, women and children imprisoned without a trial, executed because of prejudice, with their graves unknown to-day to the loved ones who live and are still vainly searching for them. Why? Because they were criminals? No, because they acted differently from that which the majority believed, and the majority yielded nothing to the minority except death and imprisonment.

It is, as I have said, the bulwark of our liberty. But, gentlemen, it is, if I may so put it, an indivisible bulwark of our liberty. Let one of its provisions be disobeyed, ridiculed or treated with indifference, or its violation acquiesced in, and it will be as with the dikes of Holland, that when once an entrance, however small, has been made through their solid and protecting banks, ruin and devas-

tation immeasurable instantly follows. It is almost like a voice from the dead to hear what Abraham Lincoln said on this subject: "I believe that there is an increasing disregard for law which pervades this country. How shall we fortify against it? The answer is simple: Let every American, every lover of liberty, every well-wisher of his posterity swear by the blood of the Revolution never to violate in the least particular the laws of the country, and never to tolerate their violation by others. As the patriots of 1776 did in their support of the Declaration of Independence, so to the support of the Constitution and laws let every American pledge his life, his liberty, and his sacred honor," continued Lincoln, "and let every man remember that to violate the law is to trample on the blood of his fathers and to tear the charter of his own and his children's liberty. Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap. Let it be taught in schools, in seminaries and in colleges. Let it be written in primers, spelling books and in almanacs. Let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls and enforced in courts of justice, and, in short, let it become the political religion of the nation, and let the old and the young, the rich and the poor, the grave and the gay, of all sexes and tongues, all colors and conditions, sacrifice unceasingly upon its altars." [Applause.]

And, gentlemen, when we recall the great principles for which Lincoln stood, the inestimable privileges which have come down to us from our fathers through him, we get a vision of what it means to be an American citizen. In the State from which I come, a man once caught an eagle when it was young and clipped its wings and threw it into the barnyard, and there that king of birds pecked for its food at a dung-hill where the fowls of the barnyard were accustomed to feed. But one day a man came into that barnyard and exclaimed, "Why, there is an eagle in

the barnyard," and the farmer said, "Yes, he has been there long, and he is tame; his wings are grown, but there he is." The man took that eagle and lifted it as high as he could hold it to see if, perchance, it might remember that it was an eagle. He said, "As I withdrew my hand it fell back to the dung-hill, pecking for its food as it had done before." "And then," continued he, "I took it the next morning early, as the sun was rising, up to the ridge of the barn, and I held it there as high as I could reach, just as the sun was coming over the eastern hills." Said he, "That great bird turned its head first toward the rising sun, and blinked as the rays fell upon its eyes, and then it turned its head toward the west where its mountain home had been, and with a scream it flapped its wings and flew away; it was an eagle again."

The life, the words, the service, the death of Abraham Lincoln lead us to the resolution that we think and speak and live as becomes American citizens, so that that which we have received from our fathers, please God, we may hand down to our children untainted in its honor and unweakened in its power. [Loud and prolonged applause.]

HON. EDWIN S. STUART.—Mr. President, I move that the thanks of The Union League be tendered to the distinguished Senator who has just made such a scholarly and instructive address on this anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln.

[The motion was duly seconded and unanimously carried.]

THE PRESIDENT.—The meeting is now adjourned.

ADDRESS

BY

HONORABLE WILLIAM M. JARDINE

SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE OF THE UNITED STATES

THE UNION LEAGUE OF PHILADELPHIA

MAY 8, 1925

**Address of Honorable William M. Jardine, Secretary
of Agriculture, at The Union League, May 8, 1925.**

THE PRESIDENT.—Fellow Members of The Union League: We are very much honored to-night in having as our guest a distinguished member of the President's official family in Washington, perhaps the most eminent agronomist in the United States. Agronomy, I am told, is the science of field crops. In looking through the press during the last few days, I was not quite sure what that word did mean, as I saw it reported that the Secretary was about to visit the Northwest to try his hand again at breaking bronchos, roping calves, and all that sort of thing; and it occurred to me that it would be a very helpful thing to all of us concerned citizens throughout this country if, in his work in Washington, he could find some way to help break some of those wild bronchos in Congress and bring them into line for Mr. Mellon's tax reduction plan and the general program for betterment of conditions as outlined by President Coolidge. [Applause.]

It is a long step, that from a cowpuncher to the presidency of a college, and now to a place in the Cabinet of the President, but Dr. Jardine has accomplished it with great credit to himself and much satisfaction to the country. I am advised by a personal friend in Washington, who is a keen observer of men and affairs, that "Dr. Jardine has made an instantaneously favorable impression in Washington as a level-headed man who is likely to keep his feet eternally on the ground." That is statesmanship, and statesmanship that is not always in season in Washington.

We have another friend who comes to The Union League once in a while from the Secretary's own State of Kansas, former Governor Henry J. Allen, who says that "Dr. Jardine is one man I know who does not wear

gumshoes when he has an opinion to express.” [Applause.] Here in industrial Pennsylvania we are so busy with our own problems—and we have trials and tribulations, too, Mr. Secretary—that I think we are too prone to forget the trials and tribulations of agriculture; at least, we do not stop to think how entirely dependent upon agriculture is the success of every other enterprise in the country, because, after all, agriculture is the basic thing upon which all our material success is founded. Therefore it seems to me opportune that the new Secretary of Agriculture should come here to industrial Philadelphia to make his first public appearance since his advent into this high office, and I take very great pleasure in presenting to you Honorable William M. Jardine. [Loud applause.]

DR. JARDINE.—Mr. President and Members of The Union League: I feel deeply honored in being invited to appear before you this evening. This is one institution with which I wanted to have a better acquaintance than I have had in the past, an institution about which I have read a good deal, an institution my father as a Republican used to cite as the one that could always be counted on in heading the right kind of campaign, and promoting the right kind of sentiments to build the right kind of America. I think, as a result of what I have heard, even away out in the State of Idaho forty years ago, it has had some influence on my life.

I do not realize why a dirt farmer should be invited to address the membership of The Union League in the City of Philadelphia. Of course, I remember, in reading the history of agriculture in this country, that Pennsylvania was at one time a great agricultural State, and that Philadelphia was the seat of the first agricultural society ever established in America. I also know that it is the present home of one of the leading exponents of agriculture in this country, and of a leading agricultural magazine,

Mr. Curtis and *The Country Gentleman*, and it has been my pleasure for the first time in my life to meet this man I have read so much about. There were a great many reasons why I was glad to have this invitation, and it is the only invitation that I expect to accept until I begin my western trip, where I intend to specialize in riding bronchos in preparation for the ordeal of corralling and lassoing and tying down the mavericks to which your President has just referred. [Laughter.]

I am not waiting, either, until I take the trip, to begin my preparations for that ordeal. I have a horse in Washington by the name of Cal; I had nothing to do with the naming of the horse, or with picking out the place of his birth. He is a Vermont horse. [Laughter.] The Government a few years ago established two horse-breeding stations with the idea of trying to develop an American type of horse. The type they were trying to develop in Vermont was the Morgan horse. Many of you are familiar with the Morgan horse, and this little horse named Cal, that weighs 930 pounds, large enough for the Secretary of Agriculture to ride, but not large enough for the Attorney General from Vermont to ride, is one of the best individuals of that breed that I have ever seen, and that breed is one of the best we have ever known in America.

The difficulty that I am experiencing in riding that horse is not in riding the horse at all; it is in riding an English saddle. I find it more difficult to ride him in an English saddle than I do a broncho in an American saddle. Another difficulty I find in riding this horse is that he hasn't any mane to hang on to, and having neither a horn nor mane, all I have to hang on by are the calves of my legs. When I get out to the Mandan rodeo I am going to have spurs so that I can hang on by the spurs in the cinches of the saddle.

I am sure that I am a better horseman these days in the newspapers than I am on a broncho's back, but since

Mandan is going to be on the end of my trip, and after I have been running about the West for a month and traversing some of the mountains of California and Oregon on horseback, I hope I will be hardened to it, as a football player is at the end of the season; and if they do really bring out some of those animals, I may take one on. But, of course, I must keep in mind that Secretaries of Agriculture are awfully hard to get [laughter]; it is more important that I stay on the job for the next few years than for me to take any chances, and I am sure I will have the country back of me if I happen to refuse to ride those animals. [Laughter.]

I thought perhaps the reason you were inviting me here to-night was because some of you had remembered that this institution and the Department of Agriculture came into being the same year. We are about to celebrate our sixty-third birthday. You grew up as a patriotic institution to help defend the Government, to make the right kind of government, and to preserve the integrity of this country. The institution that I represent is dedicating its life to the promotion of one of the major businesses upon which American prosperity is built, that of agriculture.

Then I remembered the kind of audiences that I have talked to all over America. It does not make any difference where you are, a large percentage of the crowd is made up of agriculturists, and it is not necessary for me to define an agriculturist and distinguish between an agriculturist and a dirt farmer. I am a dirt farmer, but Mr. Jones and some other men I have met here this evening are agriculturists. They make their money in the city and spend it on the farm; I have to make my money on the farm, and I am still trying. I haven't made any yet, but that is where it must come from, outside of the fact that I am in a money-making game in Washington.

Then I remembered, too, that you have a good many hunting clubs in which you have fine horses, and you have

hunts, and you have even foxes, though perhaps not in your hunting clubs. Then I know, too, that Philadelphia is surrounded by some very fine farms and has in its environment some very fine animals, and I know it is the desire of nearly every human being some day to become identified with growing things, with life, with animals, with crops, with plants, with flowers.

The only other appearance that I have made in the East since I became Secretary of Agriculture was in New York the other night, when they were holding their annual flower show. There I met a group of representative citizens of New York City who were spending large sums of money in the creation of flowers. It was a striking example of that longing and desire that is in every one of us to work with animal and plant life, and get close to Nature; we just can't keep away from it; and I know very well that a lot of you fellows are spending some of your money in that very thing in the environment of this city and in Pennsylvania.

Then I know, too, that you are all business men, and being business men you recognize the importance of an industry as large as is the business of farming in America. Some of you can remember when agriculture in your own State meant more even than it does to-day, and to-day it means a great deal even in the State of Pennsylvania. An industry that produces raw products to an amount in value of over half a billion dollars, between half a billion dollars and a billion dollars annually, is still a considerable industry, even in a State that is known largely because of its oil wells and its coal fields, its manufacturing establishments, its finances, and so forth.

So you are interested in agriculture, whether you live in Philadelphia or in the metropolis of Manhattan, Kansas, where I came from. One of the missions that I hope to perform, one of the things I hope to do, is to convey to the business interests of America some of the difficulties

that the farmers of this country are confronted with, in an endeavor to bring about a more cordial relationship, a more friendly feeling and a greater confidence between the business man on the farm and the business man in the city.

It is part of my obligation, as I take it, as president of a great agricultural college in a great agricultural State, to carry the facts to the business interests of my State, and as Secretary of Agriculture to convey those facts to the business men of the nation; because if there is any one thing we need in agriculture to-day it is more facts, so that we will all know what to advocate, and we will not have such a state of confusion as has existed in this country in the last four or five years.

I have been associated and working with business men for several years. I have been one of the agricultural advisers of the American Bankers' Association. I have also taken a good deal of time to talk to the Chambers of Commerce in this country. I have lectured to the United States Chamber of Commerce Summer School in order to get before Secretaries of Chambers of Commerce in the smaller cities right ideas about agriculture, so they could pass the word on to business men and give them some of the facts, so that business men, when they wanted to help, would know how to help, and when they got behind an enterprise, they would know it was a sound thing to do. That has not always been so.

A group of railroad men called on me a week or ten days ago, at New York City. They said, "We realize the importance of keeping agriculture in the markets; we realize what it has meant in the last few years to business in the city, and in the railroad industry, to manufacturers of farm machinery, to manufacturers of automobiles and everybody else to have agriculture out of the markets. We know our business depends upon it whether it is out in Kansas City or in New York City;

now, we want to help.” They proposed that I call a conference of representatives of all lines of businesses. Well, I am not strong on great big conferences; they do a lot of talking, but they don’t do much else. I said I would rather talk to a few key men, I would rather go out in the country and talk to organizations than to call a conference like that; but I welcomed the idea that they wanted to come to the Secretary of Agriculture and to the Department in order to find out the sound things to get behind, so that they would not do more damage than they would do good.

A lot of well-intentioned men have done a great deal of damage in the last few years by advocating things that were not sound; they did not know what were unsound. So many up-lifters have been before us all over this country, some self-appointed apostles of agriculture who have taken upon themselves the responsibility of talking in the interests of agriculture; they have done a lot of talking but did not say anything that counted for anything, but they did mislead a lot of people. Now, it is the job of the Department of Agriculture and of all these land-grant colleges—you have one, a great one, your Penn State Institution; we have one in every State of the Union—it is their job to advise the public as to what are the sound principles relating to agriculture that they should get behind.

If it is not their job, then we ought not to support them any longer with our money. We are spending millions of dollars to develop these schools; they are fact-finding institutions; they must establish these facts and must co-ordinate them, and we must get behind a few simple principles that are not confusing, that everybody can understand and support. And if we can only get America to adopt those simple principles—and they are simple; they are not complex at all—we will get somewhere in agriculture; we will get more business in agriculture than

we have to-day, and it is more business injected into agriculture that we need.

We need more facts relating to the merchandising of the farmer's products. We have grown efficient in production; we are about eighteen per cent more efficient in America than we were ten years ago, but we are very inefficient when it comes to the merchandising of agricultural commodities. That is not because the farmer is made of any different stuff than you are; human nature is pretty much the same anywhere; but to operate a little farm these days is a complex job.

The value of land in this country has greatly increased during the last twenty years. For example, in 1900 the land in our State was valued at five hundred million dollars; in 1920, twenty years later, the United States census, the same institution that valued it in 1900, said that that land in Kansas was worth two billion five hundred million dollars. Well, it takes a real man to-day to handle a hundred and sixty acres of land in Kansas and make it pay a reasonable rate of interest on a valuation that is five times higher than it was in 1900. And that is so in your State; the land in this State has probably tripled in value in twenty years, because a lot of people have come into our State and this State and other States and paid that price for land; and our problem is to see how we can maintain those land values. The question is, can we maintain the soil of this country, the land of this country, at its present evaluation? Is there a way to do that—can it be done? That means that the farmer to-day must be a real business man, and he does not have a lot of time to merchandise his stuff. You try to run a hundred-and-sixty or six-hundred-and-eighty acre farm and make it pay a reasonable interest by raising its yield, by maintaining soil fertility and by breeding up the right kind of animals so that they can be five times or three times more efficient, because they have to be to eat the

grass that is grown on land that is five times more expensive than it was in 1900. That is a real job; the farmer must be a trained man to-day, much more so than he was in 1900. You cannot farm by tradition to-day in America and get very far. Unless we want to deflate the land values of this country to where they were in 1900, we must farm by modern methods, and we must have a lot more leadership injected into agriculture all over this country than we had before.

That led to more students attending these agricultural colleges to get the training that is necessary to farm in the twentieth century. One of the big jobs of the Department of Agriculture, and of the agricultural colleges in this country is to bring out the facts, so we can have them to teach these folks.

At one of our institutions, the Kansas Agricultural College, three months before I left there, we put in a broadcasting station; at the time I left, two months after it was established, we had some twenty thousand farmers and their wives signed up for courses that we are giving over the radio. We gave those courses as systematically, and they were as well developed, as any courses that were given in the classroom to those who came to us for similar training, and it has been astonishing to me to see the response. It is remarkable and surprising how close you can get to the agricultural classes with information that will be very vital to them, in developing not only more efficient agriculture, but more efficient country life than we have to-day. The radio is one of the finest institutions that has ever come into the hands of the farmer, of the colleges, and of the Government, to get information across quickly and fresh to the people of the country, and they are responding to it generously.

For example, this has happened out there: According to the Department of Commerce some four per cent of the farmers of America now have receiving sets in their homes,

but in Kansas a recent census disclosed that some twenty per cent of the homes of Kansas now have receiving sets in them, largely because of this one institution that has been set up in an educational plant to give the facts about the business that the farmers are engaged in. We now open every school in Kansas by radio every morning; we give fifteen or twenty minutes of exercises opening the public schools, little patriotic songs, and some calisthenics to start them right on the day. At the noon hour, while the farmer is eating his dinner, we broadcast answers to questions. We have maintained a question box, and when I left there three hundred letters asking questions were coming in every morning. And it doesn't take up their time; while they are eating dinner at the noon hour, one of the school children, probably one of their own boys will sing a little song, or one of the daughters of the community, who has come in and learned to express herself a little better than she did before, will give a reading, or something like that, and then the answers to these questions will be given to help them in their day's work. It is the duty of these institutions to develop the facts, and it is a wonderful inspiration to me, and an assurance to me that our agriculture is bound to go on in the right direction if we can disseminate this information, put it across to the farmers and to business men so they can understand and appreciate it and have it interpreted in terms of better farming and better country life.

The Department of Agriculture came into existence about sixty-three years ago, during the Civil War, after great pressure, and I wonder why it was that we decided to establish land-grant colleges; I wonder why it was that any one said, "We are going to get some money for the development of agriculture." It was for this reason: Before the war we had not done it; we had been farming in the Atlantic Coast States for a hundred and fifty years, and we had arrived, about the time of the Civil War, at a

point where it was becoming difficult for farmers there any longer to make any money out of farming. It became a matter of constant discussion in Congress, and after a great many years they decided to set up these agricultural colleges throughout the land, so they issued a grant of land in every State of the Union, the proceeds of the sale of which should be put in a sinking fund to help maintain what they called land-grant colleges. That was some sixty-three or sixty-four years ago. So they set up these colleges all over this country, and after they set them up, they said, "We will teach agriculture to these young folks and then send them back on the land, and they will know how to make the agriculture of this Atlantic Coast country more profitable, they will know how to maintain soil fertility, how to eliminate the pests that are being brought into this country from abroad, how we are bringing new plants into this country, and so forth and so on." Well, we hadn't anything to teach; we had not developed facts; everything was hearsay; it was everybody's guess, and we went on struggling for twenty-five years, trying to teach agriculture, when we hadn't anything to teach, and it was a great big joke. Then Congress said, "This will never do," so they sent abroad to Rothamsted in England, to an experimental station established by a private grant, to dig out the facts. We had some facts about medicine; we had some facts about law; we had some facts about engineering; we had all our curricula that we could send our boys to universities to study, but we had no curricula in agriculture, because we had no facts in agriculture. So the Government said, "Well, we are going to set up a fact-finding institution; we are going to give every State in the Union fifteen or twenty thousand dollars to set up an experimental station to go along with these land-grant colleges." And for thirty-five or forty years we have had these experimental stations set up in every State in the Union to supplement

the work that is done by the agricultural colleges; yours is located down here at State College.

Now, after thirty-five years, we have a mass of facts equivalent to those in any other field; we have as many facts dealing with agriculture now as we have in medicine or in law or in engineering; and we have curricula so that we can now put out a course in agriculture that will floor the brightest boy that you can send to any of these colleges. If you talk with the youngsters that are pursuing their studies at the colleges of this country, they will tell you that the agricultural course is one of the steepest courses that is being given at any university to-day. And it is mighty fine for any man, whether he wants to be a farmer or not. It is broad training; there is lots of chemistry, lots of English, lots of biology, the very fundamentals of life, trying to teach them why things grow, so they can analyze a plant or an animal just as a doctor can look at an individual and diagnose his case properly.

That is what we are doing in that way, but we need still more facts, and we need them most of all at this time. Congress recognized that need this last year, and they passed the Purnell Bill, giving to every one of these experimental stations an additional sixty thousand dollars a year, so from now on in forty-eight States they are going to get sixty thousand dollars a year more to add to that which they are now receiving and to supplement that which the States are giving. What for? To develop the business side of agriculture. We know a lot about production; we are the most efficient people in production per man in the world, but we are very short on information with reference to merchandising products.

So, under the Purnell Bill, we are now considering a program whereby we will make a drive for facts relating to the business of agriculture. That is a very hopeful sign, and it is very encouraging for Congress to recom-

mend it, and it puts inspiration in all of these scientists. Ten days ago I called a conference of all the land-grant people to try to do this; you had your men out at St. Louis.

We have been in this game for thirty-five years. We have received a grant from Congress that amounts at this time to three million dollars a year. Now, that is a big responsibility, something for which they will have to answer to Congress in a few years in results. So to take stock of what we had said, "Where can we get together, what can we eliminate, where can we put this money and work together to develop the business side of agriculture?" We are going to do it a little differently than we did in the past; we are going to do it as big business is done, as contemplated in giant power; we are going to pick out the best men to head certain projects. We must get information of the cost of producing wheat, for example; we must get information of the cost of producing beef, so that we will have it down just as exactly as a shoe manufacturer knows the cost of producing shoes. So we have looked around and tried to find the best brains, the best men to head that project, regardless of where it is located; and Kansas will pool its money with that of Pennsylvania, or Kansas and Pennsylvania will pool their money with that of California, and we will put three or four of the best men on it and drive at it from all sides, instead of having one man working at it alone in Pennsylvania and another one in New York right along the same line, each maybe not knowing what the other fellow is doing. We had that conference and worked upon that program; we settled upon a few national problems that we are going to tackle now with this new money we have, and I know we are going to bring to the use of the farmers some fundamental information on the business side of agriculture, to bring up the business side to the point now reached by the production side. In addition to that we want to co-operate, and will endeavor to bring to the support of

agriculture, in this State and all the others, the brains of business in the cities and in big industry, to head co-operative institutions, because in agriculture we do not have the leadership that you have in big business.

We are talking a lot about co-operation; they are absolutely sound; they are fundamentally sound economically, and they must come sooner or later, but we have not been making the progress that the movement deserves or that the soundness of the institution merits, because we do not have leadership. That is one of the needs of the farmer. We all have weaknesses; the farmer doesn't have any more than the business man. As I said in the beginning, human nature is much the same all over, but when you are set out apart from everybody else to operate a hundred and sixty acres of land, or six hundred and forty acres of land, you have your hands full growing your crops, maintaining soil fertility, developing the right kind of animals, and keeping the family together, and you don't have very much time left, or have not had in the past to think about markets and about the standardization of products and so forth and so on. The farmers haven't had that, and they haven't therefore been able to get together; they can't take their dinners together around a table like business men do; they don't even know themselves very well; they are a little suspicious of their neighbors, because they don't come together as often as you do.

The way to develop confidence and break down suspicion is to get together often, and to eat your meals together occasionally. The farmers have not had that opportunity. They have been suspicious of big business, and rightly so in many respects, because more than once the farmers have been handicapped by men engaged in business in the distribution of agricultural products. You all know that as well as I do, and they sometimes overlook the majority who are doing business on the square and

have seen only the man who is apt to short-change them occasionally. There is real suspicion on the part of agriculture as to what business wants of them to-day; they think that business wants to do them most of the time.

Now, we are trying to break down that suspicion, and one of the ways is for us to try to get across to the business man some of the difficulties that underlie agriculture. We are learning the psychology of selling goods to Germans and to Latin Americans. As business men, we ought to learn the psychology of getting messages across to the farmers out of our own experience, because any plan that works in business is sound in agriculture. We must bring agriculture up to a parity with other lines of business by the same sound, sane business methods, and not by legislation or by doles or anything like that. [Applause.] We must develop leadership in America to promote the idea that upstarts and unsound leaders will not be able to take the leadership out of our hands; and it behooves the business man to help bring about that leadership. If we can, as I said in the beginning, agree upon a few simple principles, if there are only two or three of them that we can agree on, we had better stop at that, but all get behind those few simple principles until we can get together on some more, but always be together driving at them all the time, and the farmer will absorb them.

The farmers to-day are becoming much less skeptical than they were a few years ago, because this very program has been adopted, that is, bringing business interests and farming interests closer together through the influence of Rotary Clubs, through the interest of Kiwanis Clubs, and Chambers of Commerce all over this country of ours. It is a very hopeful sign, and it is one of the things that will be necessary in order to merchandise agricultural products in such a way that they will produce for the farmer a seller's market.

The farmer is the only man that I know of who does not have a seller's market. If you engage in the steel business or in the shipbuilding business, and if you do not have a seller's market, how long can you stay in business? That is why we think we must have co-operatives. We have them in the tobacco business, and in the Sun Maid Raisin business. The Sun Maid Raisin business now is an organization that is very effective in developing its own markets; it is an organization that, in a sense, is able to keep down some of the over-production. The tobacco growers for the first time in their history are developing a seller's market, so that the farmer with his products does not have to take what the man in the markets offers him. That is what should be injected into agriculture, and it must be injected around the co-operative method.

Business men do not need to shy from that movement; it is good business; it is what will make agriculture profitable; that is about the only means I know of reducing the unnecessary spread between the consumer and the producer. We are not going to be able to bring agriculture up very fast if we depend upon the consumer paying more for his beefsteak. The cow man has suffered for the last three or four years, yet you as residents of Philadelphia have been paying a big price for beefsteaks. Now, we cannot expect prosperity to come to agriculture through increasing the prices to consumers. If we increase prices to consumers, we must increase the cost of labor, and the cost of farm machinery; we must increase the cost of everything the farmer has to buy, and he buys about sixty per cent of all he uses; sixty per cent of all the money he spends is for things he needs in his business; so it will be simply a vicious cycle.

What we must do is to see how we can reduce this spread. I do not see any instrument that is capable of doing it as well as the co-operative, which is the instrument

set up by the farmers to merchandise their own goods. And it is good for business everywhere; it won't put any one out of business who is doing an efficient business; it will put the inefficient out of business, but we have reached a time in America where we cannot support inefficiency in any line of business. [Applause.] And the first step, as I said, in that direction is more information, more facts, and that is what my job is down there.

We have a great bunch of scientists, fact finders. I was in the Department of Agriculture fifteen years ago; it was then a quite different animal from what it is to-day. We have the fact-finders there, the investigators, the scientists, carrying on the work for which the Department was created in the beginning, but we have also people down there to-day regulating you and me. We are doing a lot of regulating in this city. It is not the most pleasant part of my job to regulate people. Human nature is constituted in this country as it is in every other; we are not all angels, and sometimes some one who is not an angel cans vegetables or apples that are not fit to eat, so some one must see that they do not get to the consumer. That is what we are doing; we have ten or twelve inspectors in the State of Pennsylvania to see that you do not receive for your breakfast any food that would be deleterious to your youngsters or to yourself. And we have three hundred men in and around this city investigating or endeavoring to keep under control the Japanese beetle, because you are a port city, and you bring in a lot of things that carry insects. Then, as I said, we are looking after your food; that is under the Pure Food and Drug Act. We have men all over this country seeing to it that adulterations are not tolerated. Why, every day across my desk comes a seizure; I am seizing things down there all the time.

Then we are doing a lot of things in the way of trying to clean up Texas fever in the country, and in doing these

things we are working for the benefit not only of the people who are directly interested in agriculture but of all the others. You know, we built the Panama Canal. It was this way—we had the Texas fever down in Texas; it made the production of cattle very hazardous, so they came to the Department of Agriculture and said, “Can you do something for us?” We started the scientists to work to find out what caused Texas fever, and after working a few years, they discovered a little tick, and they found that that tick was a carrier of Texas fever. Well, we have practically eliminated Texas fever, but that was not the big thing we accomplished; it was the idea back of that. It was the first time the idea had occurred to any one that a disease could be carried by a little parasite like that, so the doctors began to scratch their heads and say, “Maybe some of the diseases we cannot control are carried in the same way,” and they found a particular kind of mosquito that caused yellow fever. They had tried many times to build the Panama Canal, but they could not do it because of yellow fever, but just as soon as we discovered this principle and got hold of this mosquito we brought yellow fever under control.

Why, of course, everybody is interested in the Department of Agriculture, whether they know it or not; they could hardly live without it. We see that your food is pure; we keep you healthful, because we have eliminated new diseases through these new methods. Why, we just discovered a new way to eliminate hookworm. One of the scientists working on hookworms in other animals discovered a remedy, and he said, “Maybe this will work on human beings,” so he tried it on himself. He did not have the hookworm, but it did not kill him, and the doctors got hold of it and great progress has been made. It is a very simple process, and it is being used. It was a by-product of an investigation carried on to see how we could protect domestic animals in this country. And so

we all of us know the Department of Agriculture, and what I want to do while I am in the Secretaryship is to get your support for this big industry, to let you know we are at something beside developing bent grass for putting greens; most of you know the Department of Agriculture only through that. [Laughter.] That was another accidental discovery. We simply must make contact somehow. [Laughter.]

You know I can't ride all these bronchos down there myself; I must have some support out in the country, and I must get support by selling you the Department of Agriculture. I cannot sell you the Department of Agriculture, by coming down here and saying, "Oh, we have thirty thousand men down there." That doesn't mean anything to you fellows but taxes; forget that part of it anyway, as soon as I mention it. That will never go. One Department man came to me and talked about the thirty thousand men and the forty-two buildings they lived in. I was not interested in that at all; I wanted to know what they were doing. I am not at all interested in building up the force; I am interested in cutting it down by eliminating dead wood. I am interested in efficiency and service, and in promoting the man who is doing the job better than some one else; the man who is rendering service is the man who is going to be promoted. I am interested in doing that in order to bring about some of these remedies that we must have in this country, and during my administration I hope to carry this message to the business man.

I am not going to overlook the farmers at all, but I am going to talk as I usually talk to the farmers. I sometimes get in bad because in the last few years I have given most of my time to talking to business men; realizing that we had never gotten very far in this country by lambasting one interest against another, I want to try the more Christian method from this time on and see if that won't

work better. I want more teamwork; I took that point of view in my home State, and I think that is one of the reasons you haven't seen any radicalism come out of Kansas in the last few years, and that is why they haven't come to Washington asking for very much help. The farmers in Kansas are getting right down to brass tacks and doing what business is doing all over this country, and they are in pretty good shape; or if they are not, they are fighting their own battles, and that is the reason they have the support of the business men out there as they never had it before.

The banks in this State and all over this country are doing wonderful work in promoting agriculture. There is not a finer piece of work than that which they are doing with boys and girls, four or five hundred thousand of them, in canning clubs, calf clubs, and so on and so on, promoted by banks and other interests in this country. This is one way in which the business man can lend a helping hand. There are many ways. Take, for instance, Philadelphia, a big distributing point. I wonder how difficult it is for a man to grow tomatoes here or to grow eggs here and find a ready sale for his products. I wonder how even and unobstructed is the flow from the farmer who grows the eggs to the man who eats them in the city; I wonder how many checks and blocks are placed in the way by middlemen. I wonder if you have any of them in Pennsylvania. We think there is a tremendous job to be done by agriculture in distributing farm commodities in these great centers; we think it is one of the very great problems. I do not know who is going to solve it unless the business men will help solve it.

We cannot do much on the farm. Ninety per cent of farmers' problems must be solved by the farmer himself, but there are some problems which reach down into the distribution of the commodities where we must have the help and co-operation of the business man. Before you

can do that you must have pointed out to you some of the things you want to do. It has been our experience with business men that most of them want to help; as, for instance, these New York bankers that I referred to, and we have had retailers and various groups representing them come to us in the last sixty days, and say, "We want to help; all you have to do is to point out to us the facts so we will know the truth, so we won't do any damage." The railroads of this country are putting on agricultural trains; they are run, three or four of them, every year in Kansas; they put some of our specialists on them as well as agricultural agents. Chambers of Commerce are maintaining agricultural agents; bankers are maintaining agricultural agents. Those are the ways business men can help the farmers.

You can't help them by going out and telling it to them directly; that is not the kind of psychology that sells goods to Germans, or to the Latin-Americans or will get across to the farmers. That prejudices them; they don't want people to tell them how to run their business; they are pretty efficient themselves, but they do know that you have a friendly attitude, a more friendly attitude than business has generally shown toward them. Business has a lot of information that agriculture needs; you have had years and years of experience; you have leaders of industry that can well afford to take off a little time to try to put these simple, fundamental ideas into the business of agriculture, largely on the merchandising of their crops. The farmer can take care of the production side. We have, as I said in the beginning, a tremendous amount of facts that can be used for that purpose, but we are short on the merchandising side, and we want co-operation between both groups, the business group and the farmers. That is one of the things I hope to do while I am Secretary of Agriculture.

Now, I didn't come up here to make a long speech; I came up here for selfish reasons principally. I wanted to say that I had a chance to talk here in this institution which I have always regarded as synonymous of Republicanism, and being a pretty good Republican myself, and a better one, I hope, for having been here to-night, I had these things in mind in accepting the invitation. You know I am not Henry Allen; Henry Allen is an orator from Kansas; I am a dirt farmer; it is impossible to be both, you can't be both a dirt farmer and an orator. Henry Allen isn't any better farmer than I am an orator. [Laughter.] I was never put in the Department of Agriculture because I was a speech-maker. This country is shorter on dirt farmers than they are on orators; they don't appear as well as an orator in a drawing-room, but they are just as good at the dining table or anything like that [laughter], and they might ride bronchos better than the orators. There are compensating features to the dirt farmer. And right now, I am doing a dirt farming stunt and also an agricultural stunt. While I am in Washington I am operating two farms; I have a farm down in Idaho that is costing me a good deal of money, and I have a farm in Kansas that is making me a little money. That gives me a good idea of how hard it is to farm in Kansas as compared with Idaho, and now, being down in Washington, I know how expensive it is for people to live in the cities, so I ought to be in sympathy with all groups of the country.

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, I am sure we are greatly indebted to Secretary Jardine for coming to us to-night and delivering his very instructive, illuminating and forceful address. The meeting is now adjourned.

ADDRESS

BY

HONORABLE WILLIAM M. BUTLER

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS

THE UNION LEAGUE OF PHILADELPHIA

MAY 20, 1925

Address of Senator William M. Butler, of Massachusetts, delivered at The Union League, May 20, 1925.

THE PRESIDENT.—Fellow Members of The Union League: It is a very great privilege to us to-night to have as our guest of honor the man who more than any other single individual, save Calvin Coolidge himself, is responsible for the splendid victory for sanity in government last November. [Applause.] I think it is commonly supposed that Mr. Butler is a successful business man just recently come into politics; however, that is not exactly correct, because Senator Butler has always taken an interest in politics, as every good citizen should, and I recall that at a very early age in his experience he was President of the Massachusetts State Senate. And now he comes into the United States Senate at a time when the conservative thinking and substantial people of the country feel that that great legislative body needs some new blood. [Applause.]

Pennsylvania, through the wisdom of her former Governor Sproul [applause] has made her contribution in that respect, and we are delighted to see the Commonwealth of Massachusetts follow suit. Most people feel that the Senate of the United States needs an influx of new blood, that is, of new men of capacity with courage, with integrity of intellect, and with real red blood, and by that I mean red blood that circulates above the neck. [Laughter and applause.]

I feel confident the Chairman of the Republican National Committee brings these qualities into that august body. It is a pleasure indeed to welcome him here to Philadelphia and to this Union League. I therefore take very great pleasure in presenting to you the senior Senator from Massachusetts, Honorable William M. Butler. [Applause.]

SENATOR BUTLER.—Mr. President and Members of The Union League: I am sensible of the privilege you have given me as a representative of the party to which we are devoted to come here to-night and to take counsel with you as to the present and future, and to spend a few moments in congratulation over the campaign so happily ended last fall, a campaign which rallied together the Republican Party in a united, loyal, devoted and enthusiastic effort and gave to the country our President, Calvin Coolidge. [Applause.]

The result meant something. It was no idle, unthinking and casual expression of the people of the country, but it represented the faithful, organized work of the party, and the generous response of a people who were impressed with the seriousness of the issues raised, and their willingness to entrust the administration of the government to the Republican Party and the leadership of our President.

Not only did President Coolidge carry the popular vote of the country against the candidate of the Democratic Party by over seven million votes; not only did President Coolidge carry the popular vote of the country by over two and a half million votes over both the Democratic and the Third Party candidates, but out of a total electoral vote of five hundred and thirty-one, he received three hundred and eighty-two votes, the Democratic candidate receiving only a hundred and thirty-six, and the Third Party only thirteen votes. This is the record. Under these circumstances, is it too much to claim that the country expected and does expect the Republicans in the legislative departments of the Government to support the leadership of the President who has been placed at the head of the Party by such a remarkable, unusual and wonderful exhibition of confidence on the part of the people of the country.

One of the dangers which always threatens a political party directly following success at the polls, is that the victory is apt to lull the members of the organization into a state of satisfaction, and a confidence that the hour has at last arrived when they can rest on their oars.

When, as it happens, an election is won with a nationwide sweep, such as marked the selection of Calvin Coolidge for the Presidency, the tendency towards a general assumption that we have entered on a political millennium, which of itself and by itself will continue indefinitely, is apt to be even more pronounced.

We cannot expect, or even anticipate, that the voters at large will carry on after a national election with the same high spirit with which they functioned during a campaign. An event of such a character breeds its own reaction which cannot be cured by attempted forced political feeding.

But, on the other hand, the disposition to cease all political activities because of this election-bred feeling of confidence in the continued success of our party, the inclination to feel that somehow all the political responsibilities of the hour have been transferred to the chairman and chairwomen of the State, city, county, and national organizations, who will keep the organization fires aflame during the dull periods, must be combated.

I have no thought that we can make the "Issues," as we understand them, of continuous twelve months' interest to the voters, but I believe we can lead them to a realization that clean, honest, vigorous national government needs constant support, and that an active, alert, honorable party organization cannot be secured or maintained by fitful and occasional declarations of allegiance and interest. Therefore, I feel that as co-workers and members of the Republican Party, a responsibility rests on us to meet this situation and help guard against the

dangers of indifference which develop out of the very sense of security of which I have spoken.

There never was a time, as I view it, when the demand for a sincere, concerted participation on the part of all the people in the political affairs of our nation and in our party activities was as insistent and as important as now.

It is true the next major political event is not listed on the calendar till November, 1926, the congressional elections, but we cannot ignore the fact that already lines are being set for that campaign. A year from now we will be engaged in certain States at least in the preliminary primary contests.

I do not need to speak to you of the vital importance of those elections. On their final outcome will largely depend the ability of our President, Calvin Coolidge, to carry out the program which the people of the nation have already endorsed by an overwhelming majority. To make 1924 effective we must win in 1926. I have no delusion that the victory will drop into our hands. We must fight for it. To that end we must have the support of the people. That support I am certain is to be had once we make clear the real significance of the votes they will cast. To accomplish this, we must not only give to the people a party of which they can be proud, but we must emphasize without halting the importance of party membership and responsibilities.

The greatest nationalizing influence which has made our federal government virile and enduring is the two-party system. The two great political parties are the sole agencies for formulating national policies and carrying them into effect. Moreover, they are the two great agencies which bring into each organization and under a common leadership the diverse elements of the country. Probably no public man was ever more opposed to party government than was George Washington, yet Washing-

ton's sense of duty to the whole country led him to consent to hold the position of leadership in the Federal Party.

All this is a task which calls for courage and discretion. Those of us who act as leaders, whether of precincts or States, have no period when we can suspend our political manifestations, or vote ourselves a vacation. Party committee affiliations which we have assumed carry with them an obligation to keep in constant touch with fellow party-workers for the strengthening of the organization as a whole.

We are supposed to be immune to seasonal changes. The task of recruiting working associates is one which rests on us all the time, if we are to be ready to serve when the call comes. In addition, despite public indifference, we have the ever-present responsibility of soberly, deliberately studying and noting the developments of our national political life, so later we can present the facts, and possibly our conclusions, to the attention of our fellow-citizens.

I am not, never have been, and never will be, a political chauvinist. I am a Republican because I believe that the principles and ideals of the Republican Party make for the integrity, the prosperity, material and spiritual, of our nation more than the tenets of any other. My party feeling is based on my fealty to our nation.

Republican success spells national success. That goal can be achieved with certainty only through excellence and thoroughness in our organization. So, in asking you to carry on and help us go forward in our appeals to the voters, we are not seeking the aggrandizement of party, but the welfare of the people.

It is not enough to win at intervals. There must be continuity in our successes. We must develop within our party a numerical strength of patriotic sober-minded, democratic-thinking voters of the country.

There have been times in the life of our nation when the margins of our victories have been materially increased

by our fellow-citizens of different faiths waiving party restrictions and supporting our platforms and our candidates.

Aroused by the introduction of issues which threatened the integrity of our institutions, they have acted as patriots rather than as partisans. Such a situation developed at the last November election when in the face of a threatened national calamity, these citizens gave us their support. But let me say in passing, that for all of this extraordinary demonstration on the part of these high-minded patriotic men and women, if we had not prepared and had ready at hand a party organization positive in its functioning, which appealed to them, one with which they could align themselves, their demonstrations might easily have gone for naught.

My goal, my ambition—which I hope you will consider making your goal and your ambition—is to develop our party to the point where of itself and within itself, it will embrace so great a majority of the citizens of the nation, men or women, who are Republicans by deliberate conviction, not by reason of fear of national disaster, that we can face each and every election without doubt as to the results, satisfied that within our party ranks we have ingathered a strength sufficient to confound those who may seek to work harm to our national life.

The time is ripe for a great consolidation within our party, provided we are able to build a framework, national in its scope, economically sound, and also humanitarian, of the men and women who think in reasonable harmony with one another.

The people want it. After years of political experimentation with blocs and factions, which for all of the good intentions of the promoters or participants, have worked only to increase the general confusion and delay the application of real remedies, the people are inclined to a sober and saner line of thinking.

To properly achieve this end, we must have organization, and still more organization. That is fundamental. Furthermore, the organization must be Republican in thought, word and deed.

In a speech delivered in January, I said that we had no ambition to found a political oligarchy, and that we were eager and anxious for new thoughts, new ideals of a constructive nature. We must found our success on principles and then on organization and on loyalty to organization.

I have no thought of attempting to reflect on those brave spirits whose sense of individuality, political and mental, is such that they are inherently opposed to making or accepting common programs, who instinctively, if not deliberately, march out of step. But humanity as a whole advances, not by sudden rushes, however brilliantly executed, but by orderly movements. That is what we are seeking to accomplish.

We are merely the trustees not the owners of the Republican Party. For that reason, provided a unified, central control and direction is preserved, I have no anxiety as to the multiplicity of the political subdivisions which may be created. I can view with equanimity a situation where every village in a town has its Republican fellowship worker, and every block in every city is similarly represented.

There is an opportunity for fellowship in political activities which I think is worthy of further development. One of the handicaps in the past has been the growth in the public mind of the thought that political leadership was somehow an exclusive function which belonged to or was being deliberately held in the hands of a few people. By encouraging first-voters and similar associations, we have tried to dissipate this fiction. We have not been entirely successful in our efforts. The work must be carried on. We must show an open-mindedness, an open-

heartedness, in seeking out and welcoming all who are anxious to aid us, and the welcome must be sincere without any shading. Success will depend on the spirit with which we embark upon this project. I have every confidence that your own wisdom and tact and your individual and united devotion to the Republican Party will suggest the best method by which to carry out this idea if it appeals to you.

So far I have discussed in a most cursory manner possible steps towards the improvement of the enthusiasm and confidence of our workers. I have attached and am attaching very considerable importance to this subject because each and every one of these workers, whether functioning as chairman or chairwoman, as the head of a city or town or state committee, or as a beginner serving and learning with us, will carry with him all the time the responsibility of interpreting our party ideals to the voters.

We, as members of the Republican Party, have a real, an effective and striking message which we can carry to the people. Ours is a party of genuine democracy, of progress and substantial accomplishment. We can claim and cite President Calvin Coolidge as an example that we practice what we preach. I think it would be well during this summer period for us to fortify ourselves not only with the record of our party, but with the facts as to the necessity of a continuation of the two-party system in America. In short, when we go afield, each in his own sphere should be able to tell his story convincingly, to prove to the citizens in general that party affiliation, and in this case, Republican Party affiliation, is not a mere gesture, but is a necessity, an obligation for the welfare of our country.

In this connection I see nothing derogatory to the principles and ideals of the Republican Party, or demeaning to the innate sense of patriotism in the American

citizen, in our presenting to the people the economic gains in good government which come when that government is the result of a Republican victory.

Why, for example, can we not with all propriety take the tax reduction record and spread it broadcast to the country as a proof of the actual dollars and cents savings which the Republicans have procured, and invite further application from those who have benefited. The President in his message to Congress on December 6, 1923, has given us the text when he said "High taxes reach everywhere and burden everybody. They bear most heavily upon the poor. They diminish industry and commerce. They make agriculture unprofitable. They increase the rates on transportation. They are a charge on every necessary of life. Of all services which the Congress can render to the country, I have no hesitation in declaring this one to be paramount. To neglect it, to postpone it, to obstruct it by unsound proposals, is to become unworthy of public confidence, and untrue to public trust. The country wants this measure to have the right-of-way over all others."

Let us take to the voters these great savings so the figures will be self-evident. The President himself set the example when, in speaking of the yearly expense of the government of this country, he visualized by saying that it represented the wages of five million wage-earners working three hundred days a year and receiving five dollars a day, and then, going a little further, he called attention to the fact that a government expenditure of one hundred million dollars would represent the total wages of the five million workmen for an additional four-day period. I have not the intention, you have not the patience, for a primer exposition of the thought in my mind, but I know you will sense what I am driving at although I have expressed it imperfectly.

The claim that party affiliation makes for good government is sustained by the record of votes cast at our last national election. I have before me a tabulation of the total vote cast in each of the States of the Union contrasted on a percentage basis with the total of voters qualified and eligible to vote. The figures are convincing and incontrovertible. In the States politically well organized by both the Republican and Democratic Parties, the percentage of citizens who voted ranks the highest. Contrariwise, the greatest percentage of absentee voters is recorded in those States where the political parties are only partially organized, or where one party prevails. Indiana, for example, has a record of over seventy per cent of the vote cast. Illinois, where party organization and party responsibility is almost a fundamental, has sixty-six per cent. New York, where the party division is a plain and distinct one, over sixty per cent of the vote was cast. When, however, you study the returns from South Carolina, where the Democratic Party is overwhelmingly predominant, and where the Republican is but an incident, only six per cent of the total vote was cast. In short, the country over, only 50.77 per cent of the eligible voters exercised their franchise.

The fact that this vote was cast after an intensive non-partisan campaign supported by press and pulpit, as well as by non-partisan organizations, proves to my mind that this problem is one which can only be solved by the political parties themselves, and that a change cannot be had through organizations or influences which lack party organization.

The tabulation from which I have quoted makes clear that part of our activities must be devoted to the planning how to effectively combat and correct this situation which is nationally unhealthy, no matter how it is viewed.

It is not my purpose to devote any considerable time to the criticism of what remains of the other party or the

practises of that party or its leaders, but thus early in the contest which circumstance thrusts upon us, it seems appropriate to comment upon some of the political evidences about us.

In recognition of the battered and torn condition of the Democratic Party its votaries are preaching independence in political thinking and acting with the hope of enlisting the support of those unaffiliated with any party.

It is amusing to witness their protestations that Senators and Representatives in Congress should not be faithful to their professed affiliations.

They are now proclaiming that a man may seek and appropriate to himself the Democratic label and when elected, vote and conduct himself according to his own individual interests.

They would encourage independent voting among the Republicans in the Senate and House; they would divide the Republican representation, and then, although in getting votes they would proclaim their own independence, in their acts they would join the Democrats in the Senate and House, and compromise with the few so-called Independents on the Republican side and thereby defeat the administration and the Republican policy and program.

The childish candor of this attempt to ride back into power is amusing but it is also dangerous, because it is deceitful.

Those who would take advantage of self and party advancement would leave the impression that their independence would go even to the extent of the adoption of Republican policies. It would until after election; and then the sheep's clothing would be thrown off, then would be disclosed the old-time Democrat in full affiliation with Democratic Party purposes and policies.

This conclusion is not merely a prophecy; it has been a realization many times in the past. The Republican Party has been the victim of guerilla warfare in the past

when the fortunes of its opponents were at low ebb, and this is one of the times when we must expect such efforts, and a time when they must be exposed and resisted.

There is no mystery, as I view it, in the extraordinary hold on the confidence of the American people which President Coolidge enjoys. It is based on his continuation in Washington in the administration of the nation's business, of the sane, plain, common sense methods which he has always displayed in public office. He possesses—I cannot say he acquired it, because he always had it—the faculty of speaking with a directness and honesty to the people when explaining what he hoped to do, or reporting what he has accomplished.

I wonder if we cannot, each and everyone of us, take a lesson from the great book of life on the pages of which he is daily writing. I wonder if the time has not arrived when we should aim to tell our story to the people at large in as simple language as possible, and thus again help to dissipate that feeling of which I have already spoken; that political activities involve a special technique beyond the understanding of the average person.

One thing we must always remember that while the foundation of our party is firmly fixed, yet we cannot ignore the changes that time and tide bring to all human creations. We must hold ourselves ready to adjust our party's endeavors to the needs of the people as they develop. Let us keep in mind the Scriptural injunction to prove all things, and hold fast to that which is good. [Prolonged applause.]

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, we are greatly indebted to Senator Butler for this thoughtful, illuminating and wholly admirable address. Coming from the chief of the National Committee of the great party to which we subscribe makes it of additional interest, of course, to us. The Senator has very graciously consented to hold a reception and to meet the members of the League who are here present. [Applause.]

ADDRESS

BY

MR. MONTAVILLE FLOWERS

THE UNION LEAGUE OF PHILADELPHIA

OCTOBER 9, 1925

Address of Mr. Montaville Flowers, delivered at The Union League of Philadelphia, October 9, 1925.

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen of The Union League: In this busy, workaday world of ours, many of us give considerable thought to the future as far as it relates to our own particular line of business; but I doubt if we give the attention we should to the future of affairs in general and the influence we might exert upon the shaping of them if we were to be well informed on general conditions.

We are fortunate in having with us to-night as our speaker, a gentleman who is a deep student of domestic and foreign affairs, a far-seeing man greatly interested in the making of a better citizenship, particularly here in America. His subject is to be "America Looking Ahead." He is a resident of the great State of California and after you have heard him speak, I am convinced you will agree with me in my conclusion that the products of her soil are not alone in being sun-kissed, but that a similar benediction has been conferred as well on this favored son.

It is with very great confidence and much pleasure that I present to you Mr. Montaville Flowers. [Applause.]

MR. FLOWERS.—Mr. President, Gentlemen and Fellow Countrymen: When your President asked about the subject of my address to-night and suggested from some source of information he had that I was to speak on the subject "America Looking Ahead," I told him to go on and announce the subject, remembering what Elbert Hubbard used to do about his subjects. He would announce, "Elbert Hubbard will speak on Sunday afternoon at three o'clock at the Studebaker Theatre in Chicago. Subject—Well, What's the Difference?" But I hope that you will find some relation between the speech that I am going to make and the subject announced, "America Looking Ahead."

I come to you gentlemen with my mind full of the impressions which I received in Washington last week and the first part of this week in attendance upon the discussions of the Interparliamentary Union. I understand the delegates of that Union spent a day in Philadelphia. It was a great surprise to me, however, when I commenced to study the origin and the purposes of that great body. It was organized in 1887; it assembled once before in the United States, in 1904, when we had an Exposition in Philadelphia. This time there were three hundred and seventy-one delegates to this Interparliamentary Union, all of them members of the Parliaments of their respective nations, representing forty-one nations of the world. It might have been called a Parliament of Parliaments, and while the conclusions they reach have no binding force upon the Governments which they represent, yet the Union seems to be a clearing house for the ideas of their local Governments, and used especially to pre-digest the subjects that come before the most interesting international body the world has ever known, the League of Nations.

Therefore, my subject will bear upon what the representatives of forty-one nations of the world have in their minds as they approach the greatest subject now in the world, that is, universal international co-operation, with the hope that they will find a method of solving the almost infinite difficulties of the world in such a way as to eliminate the terrors of armed conflict. So to-night I am going to center my talk somewhat about that great document formed in 1924, at the Assembly of League of Nations, known as the Geneva Protocol, because it was at that point that these forty-one nations began to think and to differ.

The Geneva Protocol was an amendment to the League of Nations' covenant; it was to do two things, to complete the covenant of the League of Nations and to put

teeth into it. The document is still alive, and many people and nations of the world are still hoping that some time, in a modified form, perhaps, it will become the great basis of action for the nations of the world, and it is well worth the consideration of the people of the United States.

The main object of the covenant of the League of Nations was completely stated in Article 8 as two things, first, to reduce armaments, and, second, to enforce obedience to international obligations. I will not try to explain to an audience as intelligent as this why armaments should be reduced; in a world of economic necessity, there is every reason for it. The world had gone on from 1919 to 1924, and there had been no disarmament; not only had there been no disarmament, but at the present moment in the world there is an increase of armaments; nor had there been any enforced obedience to international obligations. There had been no way by which weak nations had been protected by force, nor had these minorities of peoples in countries that have been separated from one another, with a group drawn from one boundry across another boundry, been protected, and so the Assembly of the League of Nations, forty-seven nations present, met on the first Monday of September, 1924, for the purpose of achieving, if possible, by an amendment to the covenant of the League of Nations, these two objects of the disarmament of nations and the enforcement of international obligations. They produced a document called the Geneva Protocol of 1924. We want to distinctly separate that in our minds from another protocol which will be discussed in the United States a great deal within the next year, and that is the protocol that is attached to the Statute founding the Permanent Court of International Justice, or, as we will call it for short, the World Court: the protocol being an agreement to live up to the statutes that founded that Court.

This protocol came out after four weeks of study with two new principles in it; one was the compulsory arbitration of all disputes: that a nation was not left at its discretion to arbitrate any quarrel it might have with its neighbor, but, having signed the protocol, it agreed that it would accept arbitration of all of its disputes, and if it did not willingly accept that arbitration, it would be compelled to do so by the force of the other nations, forty-six of them, that had signed the protocol.

Then there came about this new formula that the world is working at now: the first essential of disarmament, they say in Europe, is arbitration; they must be assured that these disputes will be arbitrated; they do not want any doubt about it. These small nations I could name you, whose representative I heard speak, do not want to take any chances at all; if Jugo-Slavia has a dispute with Roumania, if Poland has a dispute with Germany, they do not want to take any chance that the other side will not arbitrate; they want to be *sure* they will arbitrate, that *all* questions will be arbitrated, and if not, that the other forty-six nations that signed the protocol will force it to accept arbitration. So they developed this formula at which they are working now at Locarno, and at which they will continue to work in the League of Nations, first, the arbitration of all disputes, and then security, that their boundaries will be safe from being trespassed upon by the armies of other nations; and having those two things, they will be ready for disarmament. But in the general discussion by which they are solving these points, they evolved the new lines of conflict that have appeared in the world.

We have had in the past certain great differences which have made men fight, but now we have them all organized, so far as I can see the thought of these nations, into two classes. The problems that are facing us and will face our children, about which men are likely to dispute and

fight, are these, problems of the expanding populations of the world, demands that come from growing populations, greater than their boundaries can contain and feed, on the one hand, and disputes that will arise in demands for raw materials by those nations that haven't enough and that must manufacture and sell in order to get food enough to supply their increasing needs.

Now, in order to see just how great the pressure will be on our desires for peace, and what we will have to handle in trying to solve these questions of expanding populations, I wish, if I can, to outline briefly for you the world conditions in which this document, the protocol, is about to play a part.

The first of these conditions, gentlemen, is this: The world is rapidly increasing in its population. To begin with, we have about one billion seven hundred and fifty millions of people in the world; and I ask you to hold it in your minds for a moment. The total population of the world is one billion seven hundred and fifty millions, but the world has never known a time when human beings were being produced in such numbers as they are to-day. We have doubled the population of this world in a hundred years. The President of the United States, Calvin Coolidge, is from Massachusetts; the last President that Massachusetts had before him was John Quincy Adams, and in exactly that hundred years between the beginning of the administration of John Quincy Adams and the beginning of that of Calvin Coolidge we have produced as many people as in all the centuries of time preceding. We are now increasing human beings so rapidly that we are doubling the population of the world once in sixty years, and that is not a very long lifetime.

On the other hand, competent statisticians and scholars of the world have figured out just about how many people this good old world will support. You may never have thought that there is a limit to the number of people

this world will support, but making all allowances for getting additional foods from the sea, which will not amount to a great deal more, and doing what we can with synthetic foods and all that, there is a limit, and that limit has been calculated to be about five billions two hundred millions of people. We shall reach that number within a century at the rate we are now increasing; that is, our children's children, and especially our great-grandchildren, will be living in a time when the earth will have produced as many people as it can support, and the average comforts then—mark you, the average comforts—will be about what are now enjoyed by the poorest peasants of Europe. Now, that is the average; what is below the average we will not want to contemplate. So that the increasing millions of the world form a problem that is on the minds of the world. I heard Senator La France of Belgium say that the greatest problem before the world to-day in these nations is to provide for their rapidly increasing numbers.

The second world condition is that the whole human race has suddenly become mobile, even fluid. In times past, men, for the most part, have been rooted to the places where they were born, by tradition, by fear, by ignorance of what was beyond and the difficulties of travel. It seldom occurred to a man that there was any other place for him to dwell but in the home of his ancestors; and whether he lived in a land of milk and honey or in a place where he eked out his existence with great toil, there people accepted their lots and lived out their lives, and there their children followed them. That whole condition all around the world has definitely gone. This new thing called steam by land and sea has made the movement of people from place to place so easy, so safe and so cheap that it is now just as normal for people to travel from continent to continent as formerly it used to be for men to go from country to country. Neither

experience nor knowledge is necessary in order to travel; that is past; the most ignorant peasant in Moscow or in its purlieus can to-night buy a ticket, pin it upon the lapel of his coat, and in a very short time, without any fear or effort on his part, he will find himself working at a mine in Minnesota or in a forest of Washington, as I have seen many of them. So that the world has become suddenly fluid.

Now, these people are not moved, as were your ancestors and mine, by the search for religious liberty and civil freedom. The World War definitely brought that period of earth history to a close. Conditions are now such, gentlemen, that any group of people anywhere can have practically whatever of religious or civil liberty they themselves are able to evolve and maintain. You must always remember that liberties conferred upon people never last; these great attainments must come out of the people. Thus the people of the world are now to a wonderful degree their own masters. No, they are not moving for that; they are moving simply to better their lots.

That is not an ignoble motive, and it is a powerful and universal motive. Every one of you have been moved by it and would be again. Whenever you change from a hundred dollar job to a two hundred dollar job, you are moved by the motive to better your lot. Therefore people are moving from a low standard of living to a high standard of living, and the greater the difference in the standards of living, the greater is the interest of the people in moving.

Now, no doubt you like Philadelphia, and you certainly would not want to leave this wonderful Union League with all of the great impressions that it makes upon one; and yet, gentlemen, if I could tell you a place right now where you could go and in thirty days make as much money as you can in Philadelphia in five years, there would not be one two-legged man left in Philadelphia in

the morning. [Laughter] And that is literally true. I myself have engaged Oriental labor in my nursery in California, and I have paid them \$2.75 a day, when, for the same labor at home, the maximum they could receive would be seven cents. And so that moves people.

Now, in making this practical to the subject of "America Looking Ahead," it happens that the people of the United States have the highest standard of living in the world; and, if you please, let us consider this for a moment. What is a standard of living? A standard of living is defined in terms of human labor; that is the common possession of every man of any race; human labor is the coin that passes current for anything everywhere; and measured in terms of human labor, the standard of living of a nation would be somewhat like this: What does a man get out of his labor; how many hours per day and days per week and weeks per year is he required to work in order to live? What can a man buy with the return of his labor? What kind of house can he afford to live in—will it have a floor? Half the people of the world are still living in houses without floors. Will it have a carpet? What sort of furniture? Is every man justified by the returns of his labor in marrying a wife, if so, is he further justified in bringing into this world a family of children? How large may that family of children be? What kind of home does his labor provide wife and children—what food may they eat, what clothes may they wear, what books may they read, what schools may they attend, what pleasures may they seek? The standard of living measures in terms of human labor the whole warp and woof of that mysterious thing called human happiness, for which men have forever striven and will forever strive.

Now, measured in such terms as that, the standard of living of the United States is the highest in the world, which is another way of saying that in this country human

labor of any kind produces a man more of what he wants in life than it does in any other nation of the world. In brief terms, our standard of living is six times as high as it is in Italy, which simply means that an Italian for his labor in this country would get six times as much as he could for the same kind and the same amount of labor in Italy. That is the reason the Italians come to the United States. Our standard of living is eight times as high as it is in Greece, eleven times as high as it is in Japan, twenty-three times as high as it is in China, thirty times as high as it is in India, and so on, and because of these differences people are impelled to move into a higher standard of living, and, as I said before, the greater the difference in standards of living, the greater is the urge on the lower standard people to come to the country where the higher standard prevails.

One thing more before we leave that: When people move from a low to a high standard of living, there are three great natural laws that come into operation, and these economic laws that move people are just as much natural laws as is the law of gravitation, which draws the apple to the ground. The first of these natural laws is that it is always the empty-handed people who first come from the low standard of living to the high. By that, I mean the people whose labor with their bare hands is all the wealth they bring with them. Sometimes they are called bare-handed people; sometimes empty-handed people, and often submerged people.

Now, of course, you understand these illustrations I am about to make are not because of any particular prejudice about any people, but they are facts and they serve as illustrations. Between 1900 and 1910 we received about two million Italians in the United States. Of those two million Italians, we did not get the upper classes of Italy; they stay at home and make a great nation of Italy. We got very few of the middle class;

what we did get was the empty-handed, the submerged class.

The second law is that when these empty-handed people come into a high standard country, whether it be Australia, Canada, South Africa, New Zealand, or America, they always go into certain very definite lines of making a living. The Italians, for instance, go into the general fruit business, fruit raising and trading, fruit commission business, and so great is their skill that they sometimes attain to fruit monopoly; we of the Pacific coast have felt that very frequently. The Greeks, for instance, in the beginning when they come into this country, go into definite lines of business; they go into the shoe-shining business and into certain grades of the restaurant business; and if you could see as I have seen in my travels over the United States in the last twenty-five years, the way that has increased in this country, you would believe with me that if that sort of absorption should continue for fifteen years more the Greeks will have control and almost an entire monopoly of certain grades of restaurants throughout the United States. The third law is that when these low standard people come into a high standard country, and go into these lines of business, the Americans who have been in them get out and stay out; and so, going from a low to a high standard of living, they disorganize the standard of living of the nation to which they go.

In the second place, moving on the basis of economic betterment, the attitude of the people toward the land into which they come has changed. It used to be when a foreigner came to our shores, the very moment his foot touched the eastern coast he threw off the traditions, the language and the customs of his Fatherland, and tried to put on ours and become an American. That is practically over now. Fleeing from little that they hate, and coming into little that they know, they bring with

them their customs and their institutions, and they segregate themselves in linguistic and racial groups in every land, and there they re-erect their social customs, retain their languages and their home affiliations and loves; so that migrating millions, carrying their institutions, have become a menace to the established institutions of the high grade countries of the world.

Now, there is a great psychological fact that we have to face. You are familiar with it, of course, but in order that you may fully understand it, I will restate it briefly—nations, like men, have souls. That is not a rhetorical sentence; that is a great concrete and genetic fact which the world is just beginning to feel; and if you had sat at Washington, as I did, through seven days of that conference and listened to the representatives of forty-one nations, you would begin to see that in every people there is a group mind. I heard between sixty and eighty speeches; they had thirty-four speeches on one subject. You cannot get people together in a group and keep them there long without having them develop a group mind. So nations have souls.

What is the soul of a nation? It is all that living body of ideas and ideals, of folk-ways, of language, of racial character and heredity which makes her whole people one and causes them to act instinctively as one under great provocation. That is the soul of a nation; that is the precious thing for which nations have ever fought. Nations are born, not made. A nation cannot be put together like a number of bricks in a building, nor can a nation be made, as we have proved since the war, by pasting pieces of geography together on a map. A nation is the great unfolding of the national soul. As the oak tree comes from the heart of the acorn, so out of the soul of a people come all their institutions; or as the tender mollusk of the sea, out of its soft and pulpy body builds for itself a hard shell in which to live, so out of the

souls of nations they clothe themselves with all of their institutions.

Now, there are some observations we must make. One is that the institutions that come out of the souls of two different nations will not be alike unless the souls of the nations are alike. If, for instance, with my right hand to-night I could transport all the people of the United States into the land of Russia, while with my left hand I could carry the people of Russia into the territory of the United States, our people in Russia would there reproduce all the characteristics and institutions of America, while the Russians would create a new Russia in our territory. By their fruits ye shall know them.

The second observation, therefore, is that no people can be excused for the kind of government or institutions they have. It came out of their national soul, and whatever it is, they are responsible for it. I do not want any American to make the mistake, and I know you will not, of excusing any people for any attribute of their institutions, for they are the growth of their national souls.

Now, it is very important at this stage of the government of the world to remember that the institutions of government, of education, of religion, of civil, domestic and industrial life, that come out of the soul of one people cannot be put on by another people like a coat. I believe that is one of the fundamental errors in the thought of our greatest optimists. The institutions that come out of the soul of one people cannot be put on by another people like a coat. That is exactly the trouble with Russia and Germany and other nations that are now floundering in chaos and despair. These people had the souls of autocracy, of despotism, not all of the people but enough of them to determine the character of their institutions. For centuries their whole life had been tuned in to this general soul of autocracy; suddenly, in the chaos of the World War, they threw off the institu-

tions of autocracy and tried to put on the institutions of liberty and democracy. They failed; instead of rising into liberty, they plunged into greater despotism.

I think it is universally conceded by these forty-one nations that the condition of the Russian Government and the institutions of that country is fearfully worse now than it was under the Czar; for within the last two months, the Soviet Government of Russia, wishing to kill off the intelligence of the nation, gathered together all the alumni of the old Imperial University of Russia, stood them up and shot them—Government in the name of Liberty blowing out the brains of a nation! And so, instead of rising into democracy they have fallen into greater despotism.

What is democracy? It is the perfect order and accord that springs from universal self-control. Self-control is the greatest of all personal attainments, and in its absence nations, instead of rising into democracy, plunge into greater chaos.

How long will those nations remain in that condition? That is perfectly easy to answer—until the travail through which they are now passing creates in these old nations new national souls, new ideas, new ideals, new accords, new concepts, and then out of those new national souls they will clothe themselves with new institutions. Let us hope that that time will soon come, but until it comes, they cannot put on institutions borrowed from other nations; they must be born within them. Therefore you see why it is that nations going about and setting up a million of their own people in the heart of another country, two million, five million, carrying their institutions with them, destroy likemindedness, which is the basic thing for peace and unity and civilization, the likemindedness of nations.

The third condition with which these nations are dealing and with which we must deal, is a condition of unequal

or class fecundity, or the rapidity with which we reproduce ourselves. Until now, in the leading nations of the world that have carried civilization as far as it is—whether it is far or not—there has been some relation between the size of the family and the chances of making a living. That is called adaptive fecundity, adapting the number of children in the family to the chances of making a living. McDougal of Harvard says, “If history teaches us anything, if psychology teaches us anything, if human nature teaches us anything, it is that as men and women rise in the possession of the comforts of life, of homes, of education, of pleasure and luxury, they tend to regulate the number of children that they bring into the family to the chance each child will have to maintain itself on the plane on which it is born.” That, I say, is called adaptive fecundity.

But there are large areas of the surface of the earth where the chances of making a living have no influence whatever on the flood of babies. They come just the same, chance to live or no chance. That is called blind fecundity.

Now, in these lands of blind fecundity, as the population thickens up, something must happen. There are three ways that they can escape the results of this blind fecundity. First, their surplus population may emigrate; secondly, they may increase agriculture and improve it so as to produce more food for their increasing numbers or, third, they may develop manufactures and commerce, and make things to trade for food with the nations that produce a little more than they need. But if they do not do any of those three things, what happens? The population gradually thickens up; hunger, poverty, disease, misery and death increase automatically until there must come a point when the number of deaths exactly equals the number of births, and there they stand, deaths equaling births. That condition of blind fecundity

we call suicidal fecundity, suicidal because any increase of births after that is followed by a corresponding increase of deaths. India, China, Japan and some other smaller countries had arrived at that condition of suicidal fecundity years and years ago.

Gentlemen, I pause, fearing that you will not believe these things are true. I am only a reporter; I did not create any of these facts; but it has been my occupation and my delight to see what others have said and to study the great reports of governments, and these things are now accepted, all of them that I have stated, as the truth of our time.

Further, we in our time have done some things to change this condition of blind and suicidal fecundity.

We have been introducing into these lands certain ways of saving life, while, on the other hand, things that controlled the birth rate have not been introduced. I mean to say, in other words, that into India, China, Japan and these other countries, we have introduced washtubs, bathtubs, soap and water, serums and anti-toxins, Red Cross kits, medical science and hospitals, all of which save child life and prolong life; while, on the other hand, those things which bring down fecundity, such as man's higher conception of the dignity and place of woman, the higher instincts of family life on the part of both, that almost sublime solicitude which makes parents yearn for the welfare of each child before it is created, the universal education of daughters, resulting in a later age of marriage—those things have not been introduced into these great lands, nor could even an intelligent monarch now force them upon the people, with the result that the equilibrium that in the past stood between births and deaths has been overthrown, and the births are rapidly gaining on the deaths. India, which one hundred years ago had a hundred millions of people, which were too many, under the beneficent administration

of the British Empire has tripled her population in a hundred years; she now has three hundred and nineteen millions of people where one hundred millions were too many. Japan, which stood at the suicidal stage of fecundity for nobody knows how many years before Commodore Perry opened her doors, produced last year seven hundred thousand babies in excess of all deaths; and there are some scholars like Ross and McDougal who say that under these conditions of saving life, without any regulation of fecundity, it is possible for India, China and Japan to triple their populations again in the next one hundred years.

On the other hand, those human stocks out of whose national souls have come the institutions which we think are the shining lights to guide the rest, have at present a greatly diminishing fecundity. There have been so many surveys, and so much talk about this in the magazines in the last five years that it is current knowledge. I think it was Dr. Eliot of Harvard, who, in the early part of this year, wrote an article in which he tells of the surveys of Harvard graduates, both men and women; and the same thing is true of Princeton, Yale, and these other great universities. Now, gentlemen, we can get the vital statistics of groups like that; these college men are a selected group, just as you are a very carefully selected group here to-night, and it is upon these selected groups, whether made up of college graduates or not, that all civilization depends. Dr. Eliot says that Harvard men and women are not reproducing their own number, that the average number of children that come into their families is one and seven-tenths children per family, and you must produce, he says, four children in every family if you would reproduce yourself and wife, for fifty per cent of all children born either do not live to the age of marriage or fail to reproduce themselves. So these conditions of unequal fecundity spread about over the

world, with expanding populations, form one of the great questions of the future.

Now we come to some great biological facts which I think, after all, are the most interesting developments of the last twenty years. Dr. A. E. Wiggam, author of the "New Decalogue of Science," whose work in that book is directly corroborated by such men as Conklin and Giddings, Ross and McDougal, on the basis of its subject-matter, received the Nobel prize in biology last year; and I wish to cite some of his conclusions that play into this general state of the world. There are some things we now know about the procreation of human beings; in fact, it is perfectly marvelous how much we do know. I advise you to read, if you have not already done so, Dr. Wiggam's book, "The Fruit of the Family Tree," or Dr. East's book, "Mankind at the Cross Roads," and if you have never studied the biology of the reproduction of mankind, if you will read certain chapters in these books, it will give you a new problem for your thought for the rest of your life. I want to tell you three or four of the general results that Dr. Wiggam gives in this work.

He addresses his book to the statesmen, and surely the members of The Union League are all in that category, or should be. I am glad we have a few centers of training schools for statesmen in this country, where the environment, the pictures on the wall, the traditions of its origin ought to spur men out of the common into the great thoughts of life.

Well, addressing his book to the statesmen, he says this: "For the first time in history"—what wonderful words—"for the first time in history a statesman knows the following facts: First, he knows how people reproduce." I think that is a development of the last ten years, the mechanical biology of reproduction. "Second, he knows that physical, mental and moral qualities are all inherited with equal intensity."

For a long time, we have known that physical qualities are inherited. How many times have you seen the mother of a daughter so much her physical image that their photographs might have been exchanged. Since I have been studying this subject, it is a great pleasure to take note of that. I seldom look for a father and his son to be exactly a reduplication of each other; it is sometimes seen, but not so frequently as in women; perhaps it is because the gentlemen have not the same facility in making themselves look like their sons as women have in making themselves look like their daughters. [Laughter.] But anyway, we know that physical qualities are reproduced.

It is that fact that has enabled Luther Burbank, the plant wizard of California, to create in his lifetime about a thousand kinds of new fruits and flowers, grains and grasses, trees and various things of that sort, because he picks out the qualities that he wishes in the new product, and he breeds them until they appear, and then he has them. He is a master of breeding.

Have you ever eaten a plumcot, one of his fruits? It is not a new one, it is about twenty years old, and is raised in the West. The plumcot is a fruit which he made out of three other fruits, the peach, the apricot and the plum, and he deliberately selected the qualities he wanted in the new fruit and kept breeding them. However, there is just this difference between breeding plants and people: He said one day, "Sometimes, in order to get the plant I want, I have to destroy a hundred thousand runty, bad plants that are worse than any of the parents I started with," but when you breed people, you can't throw a hundred thousand degenerates and morons away; you just keep them and let them reproduce. So he picked out the qualities he thought would make a good fruit; for the center, he took the smooth pit of the plum; then for the pulp he made a combination of the venous struc-

ture of the plum and the solid texture of the peach, and for the outside he took the thin and hairless skin of the plum, and he spread it all over with the colors of the plum and the apricot, and he put in it the juices of all three and the flavors of all three—there you have it, the plumcot.

Yes, we know that physical qualities can be inherited, but did you ever expect to live to see the day when responsible biologists would make the statement that mental and moral qualities are inherited with physical qualities in equal intensity? If there ever was a revolutionary, stimulating idea, there it is. You have seen your physical qualities reproduced in your child, who is your physical image, but did you know that your mental and moral image was there also? Perhaps it was so different from what you expected you would look like that you did not recognize yourself. But that is something we must keep in mind with all the rest of our great ideas, and if we have a single electron of energy left in our brains or the least bit of moral fiber left in our souls, that ought to start us at once to re-creating the race. It will be a slow process, but it is possible to make a new race upon the fact that physical and mental qualities can be reproduced.

The second proposition he states is that intelligence and righteousness go together and are transmitted together from father to son in the germ cell. What is that? Righteousness and intelligence go together and are transmitted together in the germ cell. What is righteousness? That is the capacity and will to do good. Almost all of us have the capacity and the will; it may be in different ratios, but we have them. Some of us may have very large will and little capacity to do good, but most of us are the other way; we have large capacity but little will. What is intelligence? It is the capacity and the will to know, and we all have that, but in

different degrees. Righteousness and intelligence go together and are transmitted together in the germ cell.

Now, gentlemen, we are interested in the race, in the evolution of man and in continually elevating the race. How much we have lost in righteousness in the race by the failure to increase intelligence, no one can ever know, because if they go together, it stands to follow as has been explained, that the higher the intelligence, the higher the righteousness. That is inevitable; an increase of intelligence can have but one general result, an increase of righteousness.

In the penitentiary, you say, there is high intelligence and low righteousness. No, that is a mistake; criminal keenness is not intelligence; it is just the opposite of intelligence; it lacks the power to know and to choose what is good. No, the higher the intelligence, the greater the righteousness; and consequently greater righteousness carries with it a higher grade of intelligence. Those two things must be taken into consideration when any nation deals with another nation or with its own people.

Finally, the third proposition I wish to speak of is this: The section of society, whether it be in your town or city or country or nation, or the world, the section of society that produces the most children will in an incredibly short time—that is the wonder of it—determine the physical, mental and moral qualities of the whole.

For instance, this summer in a town in New York, through the report of a physician who knew of the circumstances, I came across the case of a man, not so very old, who was the father of thirty children. Yes, the father of thirty children and that is just the start; those thirty children have already produced him three hundred and sixty grandchildren, and the end is not yet! Now, that is about as many children as produced by a hundred and eighty Harvard graduates. This man is not an American, but one of those people who from economic

motives have come to the United States. If we had five or six like that man, they would be running the country in the course of a few generations. I came across another case, two of them in fact, and neither of them Americans, where a man with one wife has twenty-two children and the end is not yet. The man I first spoke of had had two wives; both died.

What am I talking about? This fact, that the section of society that produces the most children will in an incredibly short time determine the mental, moral and physical qualities of the whole, and therefore these biologists conclude this: The most important question in America to-day is what sort of people will compose our human stock a hundred years from now when the world has reached its saturation limit.

Now, gentlemen, as to the practical application of this: It was this set of facts of the condition of the world laid before the Congress of the United States in May, 1924, that caused them to pass this restricted immigration law. If you would read the hearings and see the volumes of studies which they made along these lines, you would not criticize the Congress of the United States so much. It seems to have become the favorite indoor sport to criticize the Congress of the United States. Any fool can do it, and it is done, but the Congress is just what we make it; Congress is a cross-section of the intelligence and spirit of political activity of the people; it will never be any better until you are better; you will never get them to attend to their business any better until you attend to the Government's business a little better; but with all their weaknesses, I want to say that the Congress of the United States is now the best and most consistent parliamentary body possessed by any nation in the world. [Applause.] And so they passed that restricted immigration law.

I can go into an hour's talk, but I won't, Mr. President, of the sources of objection to that law. I do not know what you think about it, and I do not suppose it makes much difference to you what I think about it, but, having the advantage of the floor, I am going to express my opinion of that immigration law: It is the most scientific, the most progressive, the most far-seeing, and, viewed in line with our future welfare, the most necessary measure that has been passed by any single Congress of the United States since the one which passed the Declaration of Independence in your city in 1776. [Applause.]

That measure in 1776 announced the birth of an American soul. These groups of people, coming from a common racial stock through a hundred and fifty to two hundred years, had grown together to have common ideas, common ideals, practically one language, common aims, common purposes, and they created the American soul, and out of that soul have come the political institutions, the liberalism and the progressiveism which has been the stimulation and the ideal of all the nations from that time until now. The new law was simply another declaration stating to the world that, with malice toward none and with charity for all, under our advanced knowledge it was necessary for us to declare that we would retain those institutions by retaining the human stock out of which alone those institutions could come; that is what that law means. [Applause.]

There is just one general fallacy that I wish to speak of. I am proud of the broad and liberal heart of America that wishes to open its doors to the people of other nations that are crowded, and one of the greatest arguments you will hear is that these people of Japan and China and southeastern Europe are over-crowded, and they must have some place to go, that the nations of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the United States have plenty of room, and it is unchristian for us to keep them out; we must give them room to live.

Gentlemen, that argument would never be used if the people who used it knew that it was based upon a fallacy, because when you take people out of an over-crowded country, you do not reduce the number in the country. What is that? I say, when you take people out of an over-crowded country like Japan or Italy, you do not reduce the number of people in that country; you increase the number, because when you take people out of an over-crowded country and relieve the pressure, it stimulates the birth rate; it raises the birth rate, and that stimulated birth rate, with their fecundity, not only replaces all that went out, but it quickly raises the population beyond the original number.

That has been absolutely demonstrated. Here is the illustrious case of the British Islands, Great Britain alone, say, which, for a hundred and fifty years has been sending out millions of people to populate the world, and her population has been growing all the time. It has not been very long since the President of the United States went out to St. Paul and congratulated the Norwegians upon the fact that they had their hundredth anniversary of the coming of the first Norwegian to the United States. He congratulated them upon their great citizenship, and told them that there are now more Norwegians in the United States than there are in Norway, although the population of Norway is greater than it ever was before.

Here is a specific case: Between 1900 and 1910, about two million Italians left Italy. Most of them came here, but in those ten years, the birth rate had increased eight and six-tenths per cent; that is, where they were producing twelve children, they now produce thirteen, so that they have not only replaced all who went out and all who have gone out since, but Italy had such a stimulation of her fecundity that each year now she produces five hundred thousand babies more than all of her deaths and all who emigrate.

What are you going to do with these facts? There is no use trying to avoid them; they are there. Why, we could take all the surplus babies that come from the blind fecundity of China and Italy and Japan and these other countries, make a reservoir of the United States, and put them in, ten millions, twenty millions a year; the only result at home, gentlemen, would be to stimulate their birth rate and increase their population, while with us it would destroy the likemindedness of our human stock and our own institutions. So it is a little harsh to say, if you have never heard it before, but this is what is being said by the nations that wish to preserve their institutions and their status of civilization: As no man has a right to bring into the world more children than he can take care of, and throw his babies out upon other fathers and mothers to provide for, so no nation has a right to produce more children than it can sustain and expect other nations to take care of their overflow. [Applause.]

Now we are coming back to this Protocol at Geneva. The Protocol was made to play into these world conditions. In the first place, it required compulsory arbitration. Let us see if we can take these steps in order; it is a little technical, but I presume you are all lawyers in Philadelphia; I have heard so much about the Philadelphia lawyer all over the United States that I suppose you are all lawyers. The League of Nations covenant had arranged for a World Court, and when it was instituted disputes were to be referred to it for judicial decision. But it was arranged in the covenant that if the World Court decided that a matter was not justiciable, it could not come under the purview of the Court; then it would be thrown out, and that would end the discussion.

There are some problems, gentlemen, that are not justiciable. I have a right to live; you cannot challenge that right; you cannot call me into court to prove it;

it can not be arbitrated; it is my inalienable right, written into the Declaration of Independence as the first of all human rights. We are beginning to appreciate that Declaration; that is one of the things you Philadelphia people should do; you should spend your money going over the United States before this one hundred and fiftieth anniversary comes and make the people of the United States understand this tremendous basis of human liberty and the absolute revolution of political institutions that came out of this Declaration of these inalienable rights. The right to live is not justiciable.

The family has a right to live; that is not justiciable. A nation has a right to live; that is not justiciable. Long before the League of Nations was thought of, we had in this Western Hemisphere a League, a Pan-American Union of the twenty-one Republics of the Western Hemisphere; and the fact that this was the preliminary and best type of league between nations was acknowledged by this Interparliamentary Union at Washington. In 1916, each of those twenty-one Republics sent a delegation of five of its leading jurists to Washington and those hundred and five men, representing the best legal brains of all the Republics of the Western Hemisphere, spent six weeks in working out what are the rights of nations. Elihu Root, Robert Bacon, James Brown Scott, Mr. Rowe, now head of the Pan-American Union, and I regret to say I forgot the other, were the type of men that represented us. You talk about the codification of international law; first they codified five subjects; now they have thirty-three completed.

What are the rights of nations? The first is: "A nation has the right to exist and to conserve and preserve its existence." A nation has the right to live, and in that right inheres the right to take within its own borders the measures that will enable it to live. So there are some questions that are not justiciable, and cannot be

brought to the World Court. The League of Nations covenant recognized that and said that a decision to this effect would remove such questions from the Court. The first draft of this Geneva Protocol of 1924 strengthened it by putting in a clause that if a question were brought to the World Court and thrown out as non-justiciable, that would settle the matter, and the one who brought the complaint must not press it further, or agitate or push it, under the penalty of sanctions, of becoming an aggressor.

Now, in these days we need a new dictionary, it is necessary for us to learn a lot of new words; for instance, aggressor and sanctions. An aggressor, under the definition of the protocol of the League of Nations, is any nation which transgresses upon its agreement; any nation that violates any agreement it signed in any of these documents is an aggressor. Sanctions are the penalties applied as punishment to an aggressor. I might illustrate by saying that I used to have sanctions applied to me; when I was a small boy and had to bring in the wood at night, Dad used to say, "If you don't have the wood in that wood-box when I get up to build the fire to-morrow morning, you will have to saw wood all Saturday afternoon." Sawing wood Saturday afternoon was the sanction applied to me for being an aggressor in not bringing in the wood. So the protocol had it so arranged that a nation became an aggressor if it pushed its case after the World Court had thrown it out, and would have sanctions applied to it.

That was all right, and the Assembly of the League, working at the Geneva Protocol went along until the 26th day of September, and all at once something happened; one of the delegations, Japan, arose and offered two amendments to this protocol: the first to eliminate "aggressor," to delete it entirely as applied to a nation that pushed its case after the World Court had thrown

it out; if a case were brought to the World Court and it was determined that it was non-justiciable, that did not end the matter; it could go right on and push the case and agitate for it without becoming an aggressor. The second amendment was that even after the case was thrown out by the World Court as non-justiciable, that would not end it at all, it would go to the Council of the League of Nations, and then to the Assembly of the League of Nations; and then it ended up with this, that if a nation should go to war on a question that had been thrown out as non-justiciable by the World Court, it would not be an aggressor and it would escape the sanctions, provided it had once submitted the case to the Council of the League.

Well, anybody can see at once, and so did those forty-seven nations, the effect of these amendments. First, they took away from the World Court its position of finality. Now, if there is anything the American people have in their minds about the World Court, it is that it is the last word, the same as our Supreme Court is the last word; and so long as the gentlemen of the party to which you belong and the party to which you do not belong remain in power, I think the Supreme Court will remain the last word on justiciable and juridical questions in this country. That is the fundamental idea of the Supreme Court. But if a case should come before the World Court and be thrown out and it could then be taken to the Council and on down to the Assembly, the whole idea of finality is gone.

In the second place, they open every domestic question everywhere to compulsory arbitration. Article 11 of the Covenant itself, which was not amended, provided that any nation could bring any question into the Council if it thought it was a matter that might lead to war. And finally they permitted the plaintiff to go to war on a case that had been thrown out, provided it had once been submitted to the Council.

Well, you say at once: Did those forty-seven nations submit to that? They did; they all adopted it. Now, since I have attended the Interparliamentary Union, I can see why they did; I could not before; but at this Union they had a one hundred and sixty page document of reports that they brought in, with certain resolutions of Committees that had worked at it a year or two, and though there was not very much accord about those reports, they adopted them rather than have the work of the whole year and the whole convention lost, hoping that they would be improved after adoption. So the forty-seven nations adopted this Geneva Protocol and sent it out to the nations for their adoption. Of course, it failed; it was to call a meeting at Geneva in June of this year; it required a majority of the permanent members of the Council of the League to sign it and ten other nations. The ten other nations signed it.

Oh, I wish you could see the representatives of Jugoslavia, Czecho-Slovakia, Esthonia, Roumania, Lithuania, Greece, down there, all coming out of that war-breeding miasma of the Balkan States. They are nearly scared to death, nobody having confidence in anybody else, struggling for some kind of security, with Germany on one side and Russia on the other. These questions were discussed for seven days at Washington by many speakers. It is a frightful situation when you see it, but England and her Dominions definitely would not adopt this Protocol. I am quite sure from what I have heard and read that neither England nor her Dominions will ever sign any world document in which the question of force is used in arbitration, nor any document that opens up domestic questions to arbitration and does not recognize certain questions as non-justiciable.

So the conference to adopt the Geneva Protocol for disarmament was not called. The Sixth Assembly met in September past, the document has been laid upon the

shelf for consideration, and while they have done some fine things, they did not carry it forward and it stands there in abeyance.

Those were the questions that were discussed at the Interparliamentary Union. They recognize the terrible tension of expanding populations, and the fact that many countries haven't enough to eat and will never be able to produce enough. By the way, let us get down to some figures on this: It requires two and a half acres of land to support one human being. Forty per cent of the land of the earth can be brought under some sort of agriculture; by figuring that way, we know that the earth will support five billion two hundred millions of people. Now, before the World War, France was cultivating one and a half acres; it takes two and a half to support one human being. Italy was cultivating one and one-tenth acres, Germany less than one acre, ninety-eight hundredths, Belgium fifty-seven hundredths of an acre for each person. Those countries are absolutely, mathematically not self-supporting, nor can they ever be, and they know it. Their populations are increasing, hunger is calling, and for that reason I heard at Washington, as they heard at Geneva, wonderful new doctrines proclaimed. One, that those who have sufficient raw materials must divide with those who have not, the representatives of Belgium, of Sweden and Roumania definitely saying that the great countries must divide, not offering, however, to reduce their own fecundity, but that the people who have important natural resources must give to the people who have not. Those are the problems we are facing right now.

I could go into some detail, but I will not, because I have already talked longer than I told the President that I should, upon the problems that were discussed there; but before closing I do want to give you some general results I reached for myself, from my studies, and after hearing all of the addresses that were made at Washington.

In the first place, I had a volume of one hundred and fifty pages of the reports; in the next place I had three hundred typewritten pages of stenographic reports of speeches made, and then I had my own notes. Now, I alone am responsible for these general conclusions; I just got them for myself, but I will give them to you and let you think them over.

I came to some definite conclusions as to these things about these European nations, because the whole trouble is in Europe. There isn't any trouble between us and Japan; Asia does not figure in this; it doesn't figure in the League particularly except when Japan introduced these resolutions to amend the protocol for the time being, but the whole tension and trouble of the world is centered in continental Europe, not in the British Empire.

Did you ever stop to think that the British Empire as a world power is not interested in continental Europe except for the fear of war; it is about as remote from the interests of the continent as we are ourselves. It is bigger than continental Europe, and has more people under its régime as it spreads around the world: so they stand aloof and look upon it a good deal as we do.

So I asked myself these questions: First, what is the attitude of the European nations toward the United States? Second, what is the estimate which these European nations make of the present and future of the League of Nations? Third, what do the European nations think of the United States as a present non-member of the League, and fourth, where will we find the torch that will light the world of the present day through this wilderness of new world conditions?

The first question, What is the attitude of the European nations toward the United States? That is very important to us, it is, as nearly as I can sense it: Neither the people of Europe nor their governments have any

ugly suspicions that the people of the United States or our Government will not give them a square deal. I am surprised at this attitude toward the United States. While they are expecting us to carry their economic burdens and to permit them to share our blessings, yet they haven't any ugly suspicions against us, not belittling us nor calling us Shylocks. Ninety-nine per cent of that sort of stuff that I read in the press, as far as I was able to see there, it is not true, gentlemen, and I think that is a wonderful conclusion. On the other hand, they recognize that the United States has the only autonomous economic system in the world, autonomous, separate and independent.

In the next place, they absolutely recognize that Europe has lost once and forever its economic supremacy. They said it in these words, "Europe can never more hope for world supremacy through colonization." Another one said, "The economic heart of the world no longer beats in Europe." Another one said, "The United States has the leadership of the world; you cannot compare Europe with the United States in strength or power." And they would rather the United States would lead the world out of its troubles than any other nation. Their confidence in us is a thousand to one against any other nation's leadership. A good many of them hope that we will take the leadership, and they are almost willing, if we would chart and blueprint a course, to follow it just exactly as we would make it. That is their attitude toward us. That makes a wonderful increase of our responsibility, gentlemen.

What do those nations over in Europe think of the present and future of the League of Nations? They recognize in definite words and through all their acts that in the primary objectives of the League, which were to reduce armaments and to enforce the observance of international obligations, to protect minorities and small

nations, the League of Nations has failed. I think that is demonstrable. But in its secondary great work of surveys and researches and in its humanitarian efforts, they recognize it as a great new world agency, capable of large expansion, and of value to mankind. They also recognize, however, that it is yet an infant, and to overload it with difficulties which it cannot solve, and burdens which it cannot bear, is to kill the League of Nations through the loss of the confidence which the peoples of Europe have in it. That, then, is what they think about the League: that it is an undeveloped institution whose great possibilities no one can foresee.

On the other hand, they have about given up the idea that they can ever enforce peace; they believe they will have to get it through some sort of arbitration: what they are trying to do now is to get a group of nations here to make an agreement, and another group here, and a group there, hoping there will be enough groups all around the world, all joined together, to make a general co-ordination of safety. They are working at that now over at Locarno.

What is the attitude of the European nations toward the United States as a non-member? They are absolutely unanimous in inviting the United States into the League, as far as I heard them talk and could talk to them; but they are almost absolutely unanimous that the United States will not enter the League for some time, if ever. That is what the English said and what some others, said. They are also unanimous that, if the United States should some time enter the League, it will do so wholly upon the principles of altruism, because they recognize that the League at present and for a long time to come will be dealing with problems in Europe that have no counterpart whatever in the United States. We have no war problem; we have no minorities problem; we have no small nations problem, our economic problem the League

of Nations could not solve, and that is the biggest problem at present to be solved over there. After the League of nations, they say, does its very best in solving their economic problems, they can never hope to attain the strong position which the United States now possesses. And yet they are hoping that from principles of altruism and the help we can give the world, that we will some time make up our mind to come into the League of Nations, and when we do, they are willing that we should make it over to suit us, so that we can come in.

Another thing about which we in the United States have been talking a good deal is, whether European nations, England particularly, want us to call another conference on disarmament. Five Englishmen, among them Sir Robert Horn and General E. R. Spears, made statements that England and her Dominions are ready to follow the United States at any time she will call another conference on disarmament: and they represent the opinion of the people of the whole British Empire. These are wonderful things for us to know and think about.

As I sat there watching these three hundred and seventy-one delegates from forty-one nations, I was more than ever impressed with the qualities of the English-speaking group. Nearly all the speeches were translated into French, two-thirds of them were made in French, and most of them were translated into German, but I observed closely the English-speaking group (England and her Dominions and the United States), and I was impressed by their quality. I do not wish to disparage any other group, their attainments or their ideals, but the personalities of the English-speaking delegates stood out with a homogeneity and with a wealth of common culture that was nowhere else apparent in any group. Above the diversity and the differences, amidst the struggles of ideas that were expressed on the floor, the

points made by this English-speaking group rang clear and in tune above the medley of discords.

Now, gentlemen, as history has shown the superior political genius of the English-speaking people to bring about world conditions which seem to satisfy the common yearnings of the whole human race more than any other group have been successful in doing; as at last the ideals which were pursued by Cromwell and Washington, Gladstone and Wesley, Channing and Marshall, and Lincoln and men of their generations have just now broken into the mental horizon of all the other nations, and have been taken up by them as their objectives in government; it seems to me, gentlemen, that these ideals should be reborn in us and be reconsecrated by us, liberalizing them, expanding them, as experience gives us wisdom and that we should go forward in our leadership until, in their full fruition of freedom and equality in parliamentary representation, democracy and world peace shall become the heritage of all of these nations, struggling hard, but with a beautiful hope, toward the parliament of man. [Prolonged applause.]

THE PRESIDENT.—I am sure we are very greatly indebted to Mr. Flowers for his profound and illuminating address. I am confident you will agree with me that he has given us a very great deal to take home and think about. The meeting is now adjourned.

ADDRESS

BY

HONORABLE DWIGHT F. DAVIS

SECRETARY OF WAR

THE UNION LEAGUE OF PHILADELPHIA

NOVEMBER 27, 1925



**Address of Hon. Dwight F. Davis, Secretary of War,
before The Union League of Philadelphia, Novem-
ber 27, 1925.**

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen of The Union League: To-night we are gathered here to pay our annual tribute to those patriotic and devoted citizens, who, in their ardent desire to assist the Government in the preservation of the Union, founded this organization sixty-three years ago. These recurring anniversaries serve to keep us mindful of the sacrifices our founders made in the interest of a great and glorious cause.

The preamble to the Charter declares the association was formed for “the purpose of fostering and promoting the love of Republican Government, aiding in the preservation of the Union of the United States, and extending aid and relief to the soldiers and sailors of the army and navy thereof.” The League’s effective support of the Government in that hour of trial was most welcome and was acknowledged with grateful appreciation.

Lest we forget, may I read from our By-Laws the obligation laid upon all of us that “Every member shall support the Constitution of the United States, discountenance by moral and social influence all disloyalty to the Federal Government, encourage and maintain respect for its authority, comply with its laws and acquiesce in its measures for the enforcement thereof, and for the suppression of insurrection, treason and rebellion, as duties obligatory upon every American citizen.”

The bitter fratricidal conflict was under way—the immortal Lincoln was beset on every side by discouragement, distrust, and threat of failure—when there came into existence this organization we call The Union League of Philadelphia.

Among our members who served their country in those Civil War days, thirty are to-day active in

the affairs of the League. By unanimous action of the Board of Directors, these veterans—all of whose names appear on the bronze tablets in the Lincoln Memorial Room—have been invited here to-night as our special guests. Of the thirty, the following twelve members have been able to accept and are present: Messrs. Charles D. Barney, Samuel B. Brown, Henry Clay Butcher, Robert Carson, John Fitton Conaway, Captain John O. Foering, William Grange, Frederick McOwen, Frederick J. McWade, Edward B. Mears, Jr., William Harry Miller, James S. Swartz. [Applause.] Of these twelve, seniority in membership is held by Mr. Butcher, who was elected a member of the League January 7, 1865, nearly sixty-one years ago. [Applause.]

In this inspiring presence, those of us who have been born since those fateful days of the early sixties must realize more fully the sacredness of the traditions which surrounded the founding of this organization and may very properly dedicate anew our purpose to see to it that those traditions are maintained throughout the years to come.

It is also our happy privilege to have as a special guest our own distinguished fellow townsman who is always assured of a hearty welcome in The Union League, our Senior Senator, Hon. George Wharton Pepper. [Applause.]

Gentlemen, we have the signal good fortune to have as our speaker upon this anniversary occasion, a distinguished member of the President's official family. Wholly aside from his career as a statesman, he has achieved fame as an outstanding exponent of one of the world's finest sports. In every civilized country the world around where tennis is played, the name of the founder of the international contest for the Davis Cup is well known and revered.

It is appropriate that this favored son of Missouri should be our guest of honor to-night; for in those early days of bitter conflict leading up to the events on account of which this League was founded, his State was in the territory about which the partisan discussions waged with so much heat and passion. As our new Secretary of War he has begun most auspiciously. The press quotes him as having made a recent speech in which he declared: "The mission of the War Department is to end war, not to make it." [Applause.] At this time when an enduring peace is the devout wish and hope of every civilized country, it is gratifying to have at the head of our War Department an eminent American who believes an efficient army is necessary as the surest guaranty against armed conflict.

It gives me great pleasure to present to you the Secretary of War, Honorable Dwight F. Davis. [Applause.]

SECRETARY DAVIS.—Mr. Chairman and Members of The Union League: It is a real pleasure to have this opportunity of speaking to The Union League of Philadelphia; it is a privilege to address the parent Union League of America. I regard it as an honor and an inspiration to speak before an audience which includes in its members that small but gallant group of Civil War veterans whom you are delighted to honor to-night.

Every American reveres the ideal which animated your founders when this Club was first organized, the preservation of the Union. In those days the Union was threatened; to-day it has won, not only on the battlefield but in the hearts of our countrymen, and our only danger to-day is our own neglect. From those days when volunteer regiments were raised by the Union League, and officered largely by its members, down to the present, your organization has always taken the lead in every patriotic movement for the defense of our country.

Your own experience has shown you the necessity for preparedness for self-defense, if this country is to be made secure; so it seems to me appropriate to talk to you to-night about the plans which the War Department has made and is making for a reasonable preparedness for self-defense, plans drawn up and being carried out by men animated by the same ideal which animated the founders of this League, the preservation of the Union.

I was somewhat embarrassed by the too flattering introduction of your Chairman. As he was speaking, I could not help thinking of a story which they used to tell on General Pershing during the war. This incident took place just before the armistice, when one of our divisions was marching into position to take part in the great attack to the southeast of the city of Metz. As the boys were marching along one cold, rainy night, one of them was overheard to say to the man marching next to him, "Say, Sarge, where do you suppose we are going now?" The sergeant said, "Well, I happened to be up at army headquarters yesterday delivering a message to General Pershing, and I overheard the General say that he would take the city of Metz if it cost him a hundred thousand men." The boys marched on in silence for a minute, and then the first one said to the other, "Say, Sarge, that General is a damn liberal son-of-a-gun, isn't he?" [Laughter.] So you see what I think of your Chairman.

I want to talk to you to-night about the National Defense Act of 1920, which was the first expression of a real military policy that this country has ever made. That act was founded on the sound American doctrine that we desire peace just as long as peace can be maintained with honor [applause], and, I might add, not a minute longer. To insure this peace, the country must be prepared to defend itself. A self-reliant, self-governing nation must be a self-protecting nation. In order to protect ourselves, the act provides for an armed force,

small—too small to-day in my opinion—but adequately trained and equipped, capable of immediate expansion in time of emergency from the great body of our citizens. That, gentlemen, cannot conceivably be called militarism; it is just common sense.

I would like to say a word about this question of militarism of which we occasionally hear something in the papers. There is no such thing as a militaristic class in this country. The great body of enlisted men are citizens temporarily serving in the army, returning to civil life as soon as their service is over. Our officers, less than twelve thousand in number, with no votes, no political influence, are as peace-loving as any other group of men in this country. I have known them intimately for the last three years, and I have never in all that time heard a single army officer make a remark which could possibly be constructed as militaristic. There is no one in this country more peace-loving, more self-sacrificing, more loyal and patriotic than the American Army officer. [Applause.]

The War Department as its policy seeks to make war less likely. If war is forced upon us against our will, we wish to be enabled to fight as vigorously, as strongly, as resourcefully as can possibly be done, and win the victory and bring back peace as quickly as possible. So we have those two aims, first, to keep peace as long as that can be done, and, secondly, to restore peace as quickly, as expeditiously, as economically, as that can possibly be done. I do not think any of you would say that that was militaristic doctrine, yet that is our point of view toward preparedness; and we all know how much depends on the point of view, as one of our greatest Americans, a red-blooded, patriotic man, once found to his chagrin. I refer to our ex-President, Theodore Roosevelt. [Applause.]

Colonel Roosevelt was on one of his famous hunting trips, down in Louisiana, and when he got there he heard of a couple of very fine hunting dogs that were owned by an old colored man. This old negro had the peculiarity that he would not allow anybody but himself to hunt those dogs, so when Colonel Roosevelt got down there he asked his host to send for Mose and see if he could not persuade him to let him use the dogs. Mose came up, and the Colonel said, "Mose, I hear you have got a couple of very fine hunting dogs." He said, "Yas, sah, I'se got two of the finest hounds in this county." "Well, Mose, I am going to be hunting around here for two or three days; I would like to get the use of those dogs." "No, sir, no, sir, I won't let anybody hunt those dogs but myself." "But, Mose, you probably don't know who I am; I am Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States." Well, that rather stumped Mose for a moment; he thought, and he shook his head again and said, "I am sorry, Mr. President, but I couldn't let you hunt those dogs if you was Booker T. Washington himself." [Laughter and applause.]

Modern warfare, in its simplest analysis, is made up of two elements, man power and material power. The problem of the mobilization of man power is a very difficult one, but the problem of the mobilization of industry is far more difficult. During the late war we found that it took seventeen men behind the lines to keep one man in the front trenches. It is a difficult problem to raise, train and direct an army, so you may have them all in one general locality, and have them under your direct command; but it is an infinitely more difficult problem to organize, direct and co-ordinate seventeen armies, spread in various industries, all over the land, and not subject to any direct command.

Soldiers, particularly in modern warfare, are absolutely helpless without munitions. We put four million men

into the army, and two million men abroad with a certain amount of equipment, and it was a wonderful achievement. I do not believe that the way in which the supply problem was handled has been fully appreciated in this country, or that the American business man has been given the credit which is his due for the wonderful record which he made during the war. The men that we sent abroad were the decisive factor in winning the victory. But we must not take too much credit unto ourselves. We had the use of allied artillery; our American gunners our artillerymen fired allied ammunition; our fliers used allied airplanes. After seventeen months of Herculean effort we were absolutely dependent for our fighting ability upon the equipment which we were able to get from our allies. The American infantryman, who I believe is one of the finest soldiers in the world, could not have fought for an hour if he had had to rely upon American equipment. So we must realize that the munitions problem is just as important in American warfare as the man power problem.

The proper procurement of munitions on the scale in which they are needed in modern warfare is the greatest problem that faces a War Department in time of war. The procurement of equipment cannot possibly keep pace with the mobilization of men. Now, time is one of the most important elements in warfare; it is the one element that cannot be replaced; it may mean the difference between victory and defeat; so that the question of the time in which we can get industry into step with man power is one of the most important factors in the whole question of national defense. Even with the plans which we have been working on since the World War, we cannot possibly supply an army as quickly as we can mobilize it; but I can assure you to-night that if we are ever again forced into an emergency we can raise and equip armies up to four million men or more, more completely, more

rapidly, more economically, and more efficiently than ever before in the history of this country. [Applause.]

I wish it were possible for us, in facing this problem, to meet this time element as easily as a friend of mine met it with a certain profane parrot which he owned. This parrot got him into very many embarrassing situations on account of the language which it had been taught, particularly as the local minister was in the habit of coming around to Sunday supper every week. So my friend got the habit of throwing a cloth over the cage of the parrot every Sunday night so that it would understand that it would have to keep quiet. One week, unexpectedly, after the minister had been there Sunday night, he happened to come around on Tuesday night, and they hastily threw the cloth over the parrot's cage, but not quite quickly enough, because just as the minister entered the room, the parrot was overheard to say, "My God, this has been a hell of a short week." [Laughter.]

In the World War, we did not know what we needed; we did not know the quantities we would need; we did not know where this equipment could be bought or what we should pay for it. To-day we know these things; not completely, but the plans are well advanced. We know, for example, that to equip a million men you need some thirty-five thousand different items, that is, counting an airplane or a sixteen-inch gun or anything of that sort as one item; but, of course, all those things are made up of a great many component parts numbering something like seven hundred thousand different items, and those things must be procured in numbers running into the hundreds of millions in some cases.

Let me give you this popular illustration of the size of the task: You know these little thirty-caliber cartridges; we figured the other day that those cartridges, in the numbers needed, if they were placed end to end, would go four times around the earth. If we could take

all the airplanes which we needed in a war and put them five minutes flying time apart, they would reach from here to the moon. If we piled the soles of the shoes we would need one upon the other, they would make a stack three hundred and seventy-five miles high. If we could put all of the cattle needed to furnish the leather goods, into one train, that train would stretch in a solid line from here to San Francisco. Perhaps those illustrations give you a little idea of the size of the task.

In connection with our plans we now know that we will need at least part of the output of twenty thousand factories throughout the country, and we have actually made surveys of more than ten thousand of those factories. Our representatives have visited the factories, sat down with the factory representatives, told them what we wanted, asked them whether they could supply it, discussed the details of manufacture, and let them know just exactly what we wanted. We have gone over the forms of contract that we would use, plans and specifications, changes that might be needed in their factory, new machines that they would have to buy, the question of where their raw materials would come from, and all of the other elements which go to make up a great manufacturing business. So we not only know what we will need, but, more important still, the men who are to be called upon to produce those things know what we are going to ask of them.

This question of requirements was one of the fundamental things upon which we started. As I said, during the World War we did not know what we would want, or the quantities we would want, and you all know the waste, confusion and inefficiency that resulted. It was a potent factor in making possible profiteering, although I believe that in the last war, due to the patriotism of the American business man, there was a comparatively small amount of profiteering. We have figured these

requirements to keep pace with the mobilization plans of the General Staff; they will call in a constantly increasing number of men month by month.

That sounds like a very simple thing; but it took fifty officers about a year to complete that simple fundamental task. In carrying out our plans we have divided the country into fourteen procurement districts in order to decentralize the problem. You know in the late war how everyone was rushing to Washington, and the confusion that resulted, so the country has now been divided into these fourteen procurement districts. As a result of figuring these requirements, we have been able to coordinate the demands of the different departments and even of the different bureaus within the same department. During the World War, representatives of different departments, representatives even of bureaus within the same department, would compete against each other, would bid against each other, and you know the confusion that resulted from that. You could not blame the purchasing agents; they did not know what would be wanted, and they preferred to protect themselves by over-buying rather than by under-buying. I think a great many of them followed the advice that was given to my class in the law school years ago by an old lawyer who was teaching us. He said, "Boys, if in any case the law is against you, give them the facts; if the facts are against you, give them the law, but if both the facts and the law are against you, then, boys, you have got to spread yourselves." [Laughter.] And that is what many of our purchasing agents did during the war.

Perhaps I could make the plans that we are working on a little clearer to you by localizing them to the Philadelphia district. Philadelphia is the headquarters of the Fifth Procurement District, made up of eastern Pennsylvania, southern New Jersey, and the State of Delaware. In 1917, in the World War, that district, although small

in area, produced about one billion three hundred million dollars worth of goods, or at least, that is what the Government paid for them; I don't know whether that was the value of them. We took the experience of the World War as a guide-post as to the productive capacity of the district, but we are not following that, because we realize the confusion that existed during the late war, due to the fact that there was no plan. We are surveying the whole district; we intend to visit the various factories in the district and allocate to them the goods which we desire to have them produce, so that every manufacturer in the district will know what he will be called upon to make for the country in case of another emergency.

I see no reason why I should not mention a few names. For instance, in the case of another emergency the army will need a great deal of gasoline and oil; the Atlantic Refining Company will be called upon for some of that. We will need a great many drugs, chemicals and pharmaceuticals; Mulford Company will be called on for that. The Signal Corps uses a great deal of wire cable, and we have gone to the National Conduit and Cable Company; they have agreed to supply our needs in that respect. We will need a great deal of dental equipment; we will go to the S. S. White Company for that.

Those are all obvious allocations, and they are, of course, just a few among the great numbers of the various firms that we will visit; but there are other things which are not made commercially, such things as fire control instruments, time setters for fuses, for artillery ammunition, various things of that sort which are not carried in the department stores, so we have to find out what factories can best make that class of equipment. In making our survey, we visited the Atwater Kent plant, makers of radio instruments. We found that, with a comparatively small change in their factory, they can make fire control instruments and those time setters

for fuses. We need a great deal of surgical equipment for our army sawbones, so the natural place to go was the Disston Company. We need a great many big guns, heavy artillery, railway artillery and coast artillery; the natural place to go for that is the Baldwin Locomotive Works, and the J. G. Brill Company are down for mobile field artillery.

I give you these illustrations just to show that we have a plan, that we are working along definite lines, and we are working with people who can produce the goods that we need; and I want to say that we have had the heartiest co-operation from every business man that we have visited. It is really extraordinary the way they have been willing to co-operate, because they realize that it is a great business problem. They remember the difficulties we had in the World War, the injustice that was done in many instances, and I think they feel that we are going about a business proposition in a business way, just as a business man would face it in his own affairs. So they have been heartily glad to co-operate with us in every way, looking upon it, I think, as a great patriotic service that they should perform.

That word "service," if I may digress again for a moment, reminds me of another story over on the other side which may amuse you. Just before the Armistice, when we knew that it was coming at 11 o'clock, a colored soldier jumped up on the parapet of one of the trenches and hollered out, "Come on, you Germans, throw over all your big bombs and your big Berthas and your dynamite bombs and everything you have got; it is your last chance." Just then there was a terrific explosion at his feet, and the parapet and soldier disappeared. A moment or so later he was discovered twenty or thirty feet down the trench brushing himself off, and was heard to mutter, "Lord bless my soul, that's what I call service." [Laughter.]

So much for the industrial part of the problem, the mobilization of industry. I am just touching some of the high spots, because it is a tremendous problem, one that would take several evenings to discuss—the problem of power, of labor, of transportation and all the other elements. Take the problem of raw materials, where are we going to get our raw materials coming from other countries, not produced in this country? All of these things are tremendous problems, but you as business men can visualize them for yourselves.

There is, however, one feature of that problem which I want to discuss very briefly, because I think it is serious from the standpoint of the national defense; that is the question of reserves. As I said, the soldier is helpless without munitions; there is no use having men if you have not ammunition to fire off. In modern warfare, the soldier, no matter how brave, is utterly helpless before a better prepared enemy. In some things we could get the supplies we need in, say, three months with our new plans, but in other things, like big guns, ammunition, airplanes, and various things of that sort, it takes up to eighteen months. How are we going to fight in that interval, the most critical part of a war? Of course, the obvious answer is that we must have some sort of war reserves. We have a certain amount of reserves now left over from the war, but some of them, such as ammunition, rapidly deteriorate. We figure the life of small arm ammunition at something like ten to twelve years; artillery ammunition perhaps twenty years, and the time is rapidly approaching when some of that ammunition will be of little or no value. If we are going to carry out our plans for national defense, we must be willing as a country to spend a certain amount of money to keep up a real reserve to enable our soldiers to fight. If we throw our men into battle unprepared and unequipped, we are really committing murder as

well as national suicide. We must have these reserves, and in our estimates we are paring down the army in every possible way, paring it to the bone, and are making a beginning at least toward keeping up our war reserves, but it is a thing which Congress must face. I am glad that Senator Pepper is here, because it is a very serious problem which the War Department is facing to-day. If these plans of ours are worth anything, and I think they are a very important factor in the national defense, we must face that question of war reserves in the very near future.

But enough of the industrial side of the problem; I am going to speak for just a moment on the other side, because it is the more familiar to you, the question of the mobilization of man power. I think we have always been accustomed to think of warfare in terms of man power. Our plans call for six field armies in a great emergency, totaling about four million men. The first army would be made up of the regular army, augmented by such men with some training as we can get in the event of an emergency. The second and third armies would be made up from the National Guard Divisions, and I am glad to say to you that I believe the National Guard to-day is more efficient than ever before in the history of the Guard. [Applause.] For example, to the second or third armies would belong the 28th Division, of whose record of achievement in battle Pennsylvania and America is justly proud. [Applause.] For the fourth, fifth and sixth armies, we would have to rely upon the draft, and those armies would be largely officered by men from the Officers' Reserve Corps, men who are devoting a considerable amount of time to keeping themselves familiar with their tasks.

These armies are planned on paper—of course, it is purely theoretical as far as the men are concerned—but the divisions are planned and the mobilization is planned

down to the company, and the officers have been picked out by name and are studying their task. For instance, a certain captain of the Reserves knows that on the outbreak of war he will be in command of a certain company; he knows where that company will come from, and he is studying to-day with his lieutenants the problems which would confront him in the event of an emergency, where he is going to quarter his men, what sort of training he is going to give them the first week, or the first month, what medical arrangements he can make, how he is going to feed the men, and all of the other problems which confront a company commander when he is placed in command of his men. And in the same way the majors are studying the problems of the battalion, the colonels the problems of the regiment.

So that the plan is really in operation and as a matter of fact I think that is a great benefit. Defense Day is only a testing out of these plans for defense, a sort of inventory of the progress that has been made during the year, and each of these officers, lieutenants and captains, majors and all the others, are required on that day to study what they would do on the outbreak of an emergency if they were given the orders to take command of their company, and they have to make a written report as to how they would work out certain problems. That means, if the time ever comes—and we all hope it never will—that they will have studied out their plans, and they will be able to mobilize quickly and efficiently. You know the difference that will make as compared with the situation in the late war.

For example, Philadelphia is the headquarters of the 79th Division, which, of course, would not be called into service until later on in the war, if we had war. From Philadelphia would come not only the Division Headquarters and certain smaller units that go with it, but the 315th Infantry, the 310th and 311th Field Artil-

lery, the 304th Medical Legion, the 304th Engineers and 304th Ammunition Train, while the rest of the Division would come from the various outlying towns, which would raise the 313th, the 315th and 316th Infantry.

I think this is the first time in the history of this country that we have ever had a plan at all comparable to this. Of course, we cannot carry it out completely, but we are doing what we can to prepare the plan and to train the men who will be called upon to meet the task if we ever have to face it. After all, it is a question of organization, just as any business is a question of organization, and the best organization will usually win out.

It reminds me of a small colored boy in one of the Southern towns who had a great reputation locally for fearlessness, because he would go into the swamps and tackle a rattlesnake single-handed. One day one of the neighbors saw him running out of the swamp beating his head, pale with fright. He said, "What is the matter, boy?" "Oh, they are bees." "Bees—aren't you ashamed, a great big boy like you who is not afraid to tackle a rattlesnake single-handed and afraid of a few little bees." "Well, boss, there is a powerful difference; a rattlesnake is just a rattlesnake, but them bees, they're organized." [Laughter.]

The National Defense Act therefore has put upon the War Department the responsibility for the mobilization of man power and for the mobilization of industry, and I have tried in a very rough way to outline to you and give you a bird's-eye view of the way we are carrying out that responsibility. But, like a good many acts of Congress, they put upon us the responsibility, but have not given us the power. There is one piece of legislation which is proposed which I think would be very helpful to the National Defense; it is fostered by a great many patriotic organizations. That legislation authorizes the President, upon the outbreak of an emergency, to bring into opera-

tion the universal draft, and to draft into service men between twenty-one and thirty years without exemptions for occupation. It also authorizes the President, upon the outbreak of war or when he thinks an emergency is imminent, to assume control of the resources and the industries of the country necessary for the national defense, and to stabilize the prices of commodities necessary both to the Government and to the people. That is not the language of the bill, but the general effect. In other words, it makes effective the mobilization of man power and also the mobilization of industry.

We believe that some such bill should be passed in time of peace. It took us over a month during the World War, when we were all excited and worked up about the conflict, to pass a universal draft bill. We feel that that should be discussed calmly and coolly in time of peace, but that a sound piece of legislation should be worked out to become effective only upon the declaration of war. We believe that is the sane and business-like way of going about that sort of proposition. We think it is needed for our plans, because it puts teeth in them. We need more than merely moral suasion to carry out these plans, although we can do a great deal indirectly, through indirect control.

There was one illustration of that during the World War, which was quite significant. I remember at one time toward the end of the war the question of steel began to be a rather serious problem, and the automobile makers were urged to cut down their use of steel by something like twenty-five per cent. Most of them loyally agreed; but a certain manufacturer, who will be nameless, refused to agree to do this. He came to the office of the Chairman of the War Industry Board, Mr. Baruch, and after a rather heated discussion, absolutely refused to carry out the plans. Mr. Baruch picked up the telephone, while the man was still in his office, called up the Director

General of Railroads, and explained the situation to him. He said, "Please see that this manufacturer does not get any more cars and is not allowed to ship anything out of his factory." He then called up Mr. Garfield, the Fuel Director, explained the situation, and he said, "I understand this manufacturer has six month's reserve supply of coal at his factory; please send around to-morrow morning and commandeer it," and hung up the 'phone. Naturally, the manufacturer threw up his hands; he said, "I will play the game." That is the sort of indirect control that can be exerted, although we need the direct control that such legislation would give us.

So our plans contemplate these three things, the mobilization of the man power of the nation, the mobilization of industry, and the power to carry them out. These plans are not militarism; they are the very antithesis of militarism; they are just the sort of business planning that any of you men would do in your own business. They provide for a small army in time of peace, but they envision a nation in arms if this country is ever attacked.

They have a threefold purpose: First, to make the prospect of war more remote. We believe that they will curb the jingo who shouts for war and keeps on shouting after war is declared while the other fellow does the fighting. They curb the profiteer, who may foresee large profits from war; if these plans are adopted, there is nothing in it for him, because there will be no exorbitant profits. And they curb a possible adversary, because if the nations of the world realize that America is prepared, in case she is ever attacked, to call to her defense not only every man but every material resource, every factory, every forest, every mine and every dollar in the country, there are not many nations that are going to attack us. If you are looking for trouble, you don't go up and tackle Jack Dempsey on the street.

Secondly, we believe that if our plans for peace fail, if we are ever forced into war, we will be able to make war more effectively, to hit harder, to win the victory more quickly and more cheaply in lives and treasure than has ever been possible before. Our plans for the mobilization of industry, looking at it purely from a money standpoint, would save at least five billions of the fifteen billions that we spent for equipment during the war.

Finally, these plans would make the economic readjustment after war less burdensome to the country, and would bring back normal business times more rapidly, more quickly, and with less disturbance to the business of the country.

That, in general, is our National Defense Program. I believe it is worthy of the support of every American who believes in the principles of equality and justice, because, under these plans, there is one thing that we are determined upon, that if we are ever again forced into war, there must be no slackers and no profiteers. [Applause.]

These plans are worthy of the support of every man who reveres American institutions and who is determined to protect them; and it is because of the record of The Union League of Philadelphia, from the time of its foundation until to-day, a record that has always been made in the national defense, that I am very glad to have had the privilege of speaking to you to-night. [Loud and prolonged applause.]

PRESIDENT PASSMORE.—Gentlemen, since listening to the address of the Secretary I am confident you will agree with me that the Chairman did not overspread himself in the introduction.

MR. STOTESBURY.—Mr. President, I move that a vote of thanks be extended to the Secretary of War for the able, instructive and interesting address he has given this evening. [Motion seconded.]

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, it has been moved and seconded that a vote of thanks be extended to the Secretary of War for his interesting, instructive and forceful address. All in favor of the motion will give their consent by saying “aye;” opposed “no.” It is unanimous, Mr. Secretary. The meeting is now adjourned.

ANNUAL REPORT
of the
FINANCE COMMITTEE

October 31, 1925.

*To the President and Board of Directors of
The Union League of Philadelphia:*

GENTLEMEN:—Your Finance Committee submits herewith its report for the year ending October 31, 1925.

Detailed statements of the Income and Permanent Accounts are shown in the report of the Treasurer, to which is appended the certification of the Auditors. From the Permanent Funds (receipts from entrance fees and life membership fees) payments amounting to \$35,000 have been made in reduction of the bonded indebtedness, leaving \$275,000 of bonds outstanding.

The budgets of the various Committees, estimating the receipts and expenditures for the current year, were submitted to your Committee, and after careful consideration were approved and recommended to the Board. Additional appropriations were made from time to time during the year. Each Committee's expenditures were well within the budget, leaving a slight balance of receipts over expenses.

The usual quarterly audits of the accounts of the Treasurer have been made and the accounts found correct.

The finances of the League continue to have the efficient and diligent attention of the Officers charged with this responsibility.

Respectfully submitted on behalf of the Finance Committee.

MELVILLE G. BAKER,
Chairman.

ANNUAL REPORT
of the
LIBRARY COMMITTEE

October 31, 1925.

*To the President and Board of Directors of
The Union League of Philadelphia:*

GENTLEMEN:—The Library Committee begs to submit the following report:

The opening of the year was marked by a melancholy event, in the death of our Chairman, Colonel J. Warner Hutchins, which occurred on the 4th of February. At a meeting held on the 6th of February, the following minute was entered on our records:

This Committee has suffered a severe loss in the removal of our late Chairman. Colonel Hutchins always felt a strong interest in the library, having served most efficiently on the Committee in 1921 and 1922, and as Chairman in 1924 and in 1925 until his death. We desire to record our high appreciation of his services and our deep sense of personal loss.

During the year there have been added to the library 479 volumes, of which 262 were purchased at a cost of \$910.57, and 217 were acquired by gift; that of our fellow member, Mr. William C. Downing, being particularly noteworthy, consisting of 135 volumes from his private library, standard and, in many cases, scarce works, beautifully bound. Valuable contributions were also made by Mr. W. M. Sterrett, and many others, of whom a list is appended.

In the course of years a large number of books has accumulated, reports of State and National Departments, old novels, etc., now of little or no value and occupying shelf space much needed for our growing collection. We have thought it wise to discard this

material, of which 80 volumes were presented to a charity. The present number of volumes is 18,228.

The following additions have been made to our subscription list of papers and periodicals:—Daily, *The Philadelphia Sun*; weeklies, *The National Republican*, and *Time*; monthlies, *Auction Bridge Bulletin*, and *The Philadelphia Golfer*; quarterly, *Foreign Relations*.

Our thanks are due to the House Committee for providing a convenient light for the catalogue desk.

The following is a classified list of accessions:

	<i>Purchase</i>	<i>Gift</i>	<i>Total</i>
Works of Reference.....	23	10	33
History and Archaeology.....	27	55	82
Biography.....	40	12	52
Travels.....	21	1	22
Fiction.....	79	5	84
Belles Lettres.....	45	41	86
Science.....	6	21	27
Fine Arts and Useful Arts.....	13	9	22
Politics and Sociology.....	8	29	37
Philosophy and Religion.....	0	18	18
Reports of U. S. and State Departments.....	0	16	16
	<hr/> 262	<hr/> 217	<hr/> 479
Pamphlets received.....			142
Volumes bound and repaired.....			120

The annual appropriation has been expended as follows:

Annual allowance.....	\$8,500.00
Books.....	\$535.03
Binding.....	272.05
Papers and periodicals.....	4,064.45
Stationery and printing.....	41.60
Magazine binders.....	33.43
Maps.....	20.50
Salaries and board.....	3,178.90
	<hr/> 8,145.96
Balance.....	\$354.04

The net income from the Pepper Fund, including a balance of \$107.78 from last year, was \$478.40, of which \$375.54 has been expended for books (78 volumes), leaving a balance of \$102.86.

Respectfully submitted on behalf of the Library Committee.

JOHN T. RILEY,
Chairman.

APPENDIX TO REPORT OF LIBRARY COMMITTEE

SUMMARY OF PAPERS AND PERIODICALS

	<i>By Subscription</i>	<i>By Donation</i>
American dailies.....	24	2
American and foreign weeklies.....	48	4
American and foreign monthlies and quarterlies	47	34
Total.....		159

LIST OF PRINCIPAL DONORS

United States Government	Mr. D. L. Anderson
Pennsylvania State Library	Dr. Joseph Leidy
Princeton University	Mr. William C. Downing
Lehigh University	Mr. James J. Corbett
University of Pennsylvania	Mr. H. C. Thiselton
University of Delaware	Mr. William P. Gest
Massachusetts Institute of Technology	Prof. George L. Raymond
Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts	Mr. Franklin L. Sheppard
Library Company of Philadelphia	Mr. Howard A. Chase
Jefferson Hospital	Mr. Will B. Hadley
Philadelphia Board of Trade	Mr. Walter T. Bradley
Philadelphia Maritime Exchange	Mr. Harold B. Beitler
Congregation Mikveh Israel	Miss L. H. Humphreys
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	Sgr. C. C. A. Baldi
	Mr. Joseph G. Rittenhouse, Jr.



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